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EDITORIAL

Contributions are invited on the Natural History, Geology, Antiquities and Archaeology, including Industrial Archaeology of South West Scotland or the Solway basin, and preference is always given to original work on local subjects. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, apply to the Editors for instructions giving the nature and approximate size of their paper. Each contributor has seen a proof of his paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of the information in it.

A list of members appeared in volume 63, and a copy of the current Rules appeared in volume 61.

Exchanges should be sent to the Hon. Assistant Librarian, Mr J. Williams, 42 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ. Enquiries regarding back numbers of *Transactions* — see rear cover — should be made to the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries DG1 1LP. As many of the back numbers are out of stock, members can greatly assist the finances of the Society by arranging for any volumes which are not required, whether of their own or those of deceased members, to be handed in. It follows that volumes marked as out of print may nevertheless be available from time to time. The Society is indebted to Professor Robertson for the gift to the Society, for sale, of the last remaining volumes of her *Birrens (Blatobulgium)* — when these are sold no more will be available.

Payment of subscriptions should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr John Neilson, 2 Park Street, Dumfries DG2 7PH, who will be pleased to arrange Bonds of Covenant, which can materially increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member. The attention of members and friends is drawn to the important Inheritance Tax and Capital Gains Tax concessions which are conferred on individuals by the Finance Acts, inasmuch as bequests or transfers of shares or cash to the Society are exempt from these taxes.

Limited grants may be available for excavations or other research. Applications should be made prior to 28th February in each year to the Hon. Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the Mouswald Trust founded by our late President Dr R. C. Reid, which provides grants for work on the Early Iron Age, Roman, Romano-British and Early Christian periods. Applications for grants should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, Irish Street, Dumfries.

The Council is indebted to the Scottish Development Department (Historic Buildings and Monuments) for a grant towards the publication costs of James Rideout's report on the Excavation at Allan Water Earthworks and to the Hill Research Fund for a grant covering the Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany. The colour illustration for Mr W. F. Cormack's article on exotic porphyry has been paid for by a society member.

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray "grave slab" from the article "The Early Church in Dumfriesshire" by W. G. Collingwood, in volume 12, Series III (1926) of these *Transactions*.

AN EXCAVATION AT ALLAN WATER EARTHWORKS, ROXBURGH DISTRICT, BORDERS REGION

by

J. S. Rideout*

Introduction

The earthworks at Allan Water are situated at the SW end of the glacial valley between Burgh Hill and Gray Coat, *c.* 10 km SSW of Hawick (NGR NT 467 055). They sit at an altitude of 220 m OD in the bottom of the valley, overlooking the Allan Water to the W (Fig 1). The site is tentatively identified in the Roxburghshire *Inventory* as a two period monument consisting of an earlier sub-rectangular enclosure with a later oval enclosure superimposed on it (RCAHMS 1956, 444-5). The earlier enclosure (A) measures *c.* 120 m NE-SW by *c.* 105 m transversely comprising double banks and medial ditch. The entrance is on the NE side. The later enclosure (B), occupying most of the interior of A and impinging on its SE side, measures *c.* 110 m NE-SW by *c.* 95 m transversely overall. The remains suggest that B was also double-banked with a medial ditch. In the disturbed and boggy interior are three large hollow yards. The W corner of A and part of the W side of B appear to have been removed by collapse of the scarp down to the Allan Water. Much of the remains have been obscured by drainage ditches, and by swamp in the lower areas.

Damage was caused to the site in 1984 by drainage operations on Priesthaugh Farm. Consequently, SDD (HBM) initiated a small excavation, undertaken by the (then) Central Excavation Unit (now part of Archaeological Operations and Conservation) in March 1985, in advance of further drainage operations.

Excavation

A trench measuring 24 m NNE-SSW by 1.5 m wide was opened by machine in the N corner of the earlier enclosure where drainage work would damage it. The resulting section (Fig 2) revealed six main features and some miscellaneous features:-

1. the outer bank of Enclosure I (Bank 1)
2. the ditch of Enclosure I (Ditch 1)
3. the inner bank of Enclosure I (Bank 2)
4. a second ditch, or scoop, within the enclosure (Ditch 2)
5. a third ditch (Ditch 3) cutting Ditch 2
6. a third bank (Bank 3)
7. miscellaneous features and contexts.

Features 4 to 7 were previously unrecorded (note - the context numbers refer to those on the section drawing (Fig 2). A detailed context list is included in the archive).

*44 Nevis Place, Hallglen, Falkirk.

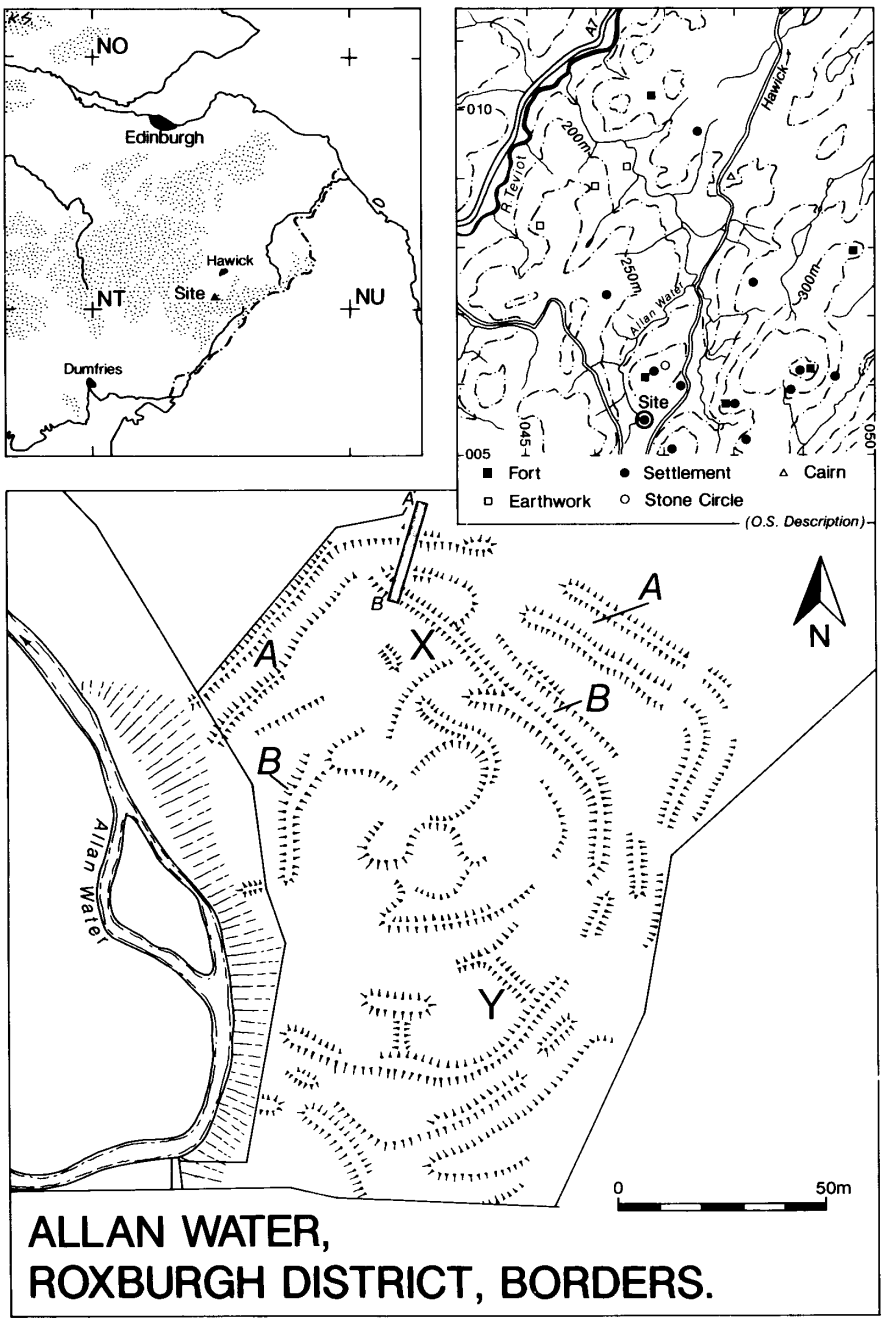

Fig 1. Location Map.

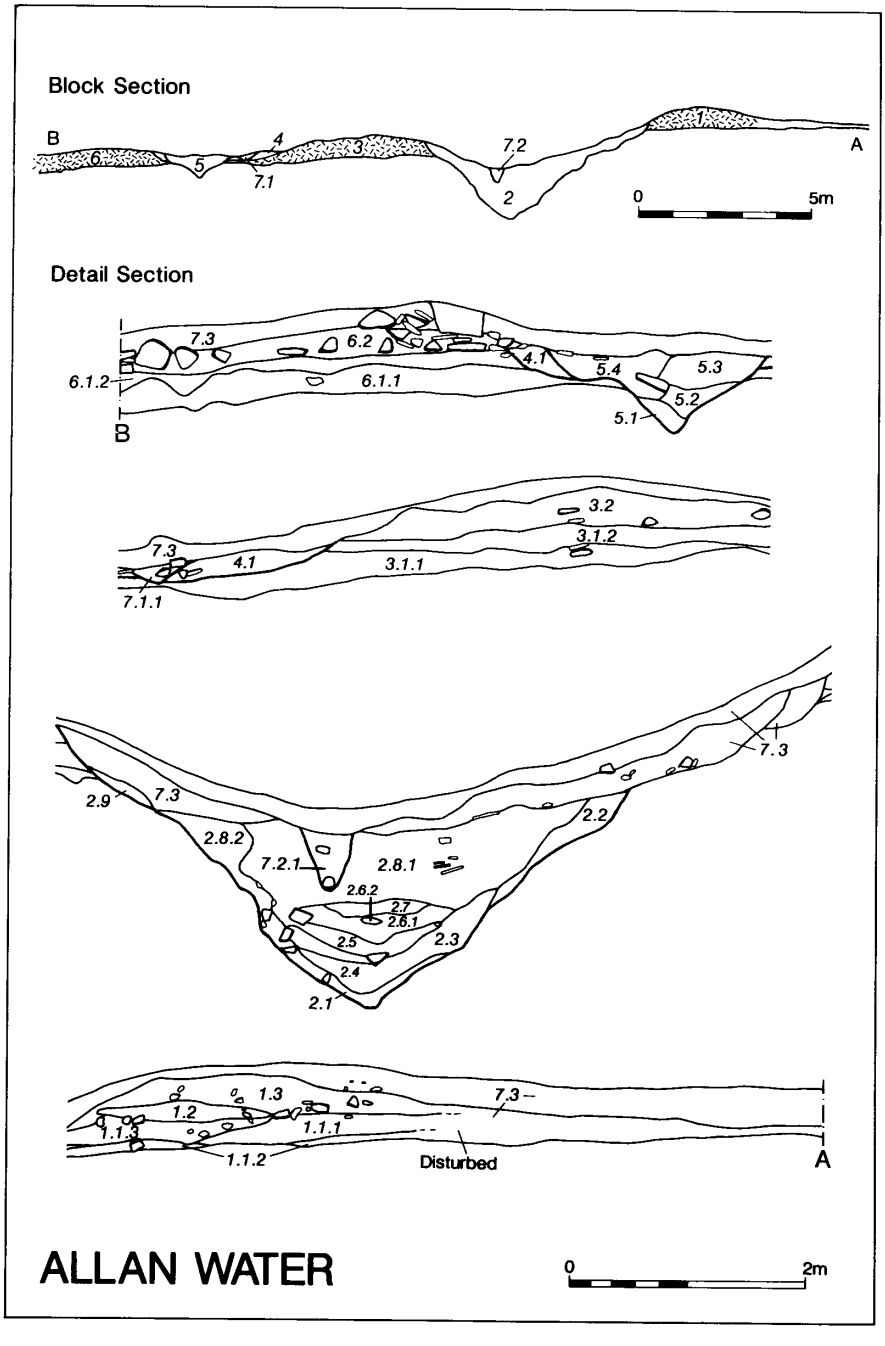

Fig 2. Section - 7.3 turf and topsoil is not included in the Block Section.

1. Bank 1

The outer bank of the enclosure survived to *c.*3 m wide and *c.*0.4 m high. It consisted of a layer of redeposited subsoil (1.3) overlying a layer of redeposited turfs (1.2). Under the bank was a buried topsoil (1.1).

2. Ditch 1

The enclosure ditch, *c.*3.9 m wide and *c.*1.7 m deep below the subsoil surface, was filled with 9 identifiable layers of waterlogged and glayed soils (2.1 to 2.9). The uppermost layer was a modern B-horizon. Layer 2.8.1 has been cut by a relatively modern ditch for a tile drain (7.2).

3. Bank 2

The inner enclosure bank survived to *c.*3.7 m wide and *c.*0.35 m high. It consisted of a single layer of redeposited subsoil (3.2) overlying a buried topsoil (3.1). There was no clearly defined edge to the buried topsoil at the inner 'face' of the bank. Instead, it appeared to extend into the interior of the enclosure where it had been cut by Ditch 2.

4. Ditch 2

Ditch 2 was a shallow scoop *c.*3.8 m wide and *c.*0.25 m deep filled with a single soil context, visible at three points in the section. It had been cut by Ditch 3 and by a small, negative feature, 7.1. Ditch 2 cut the buried topsoil (3.1) under Bank 2. The matrix of Bank 3 (6.2) overlies the S edge of the ditch.

5. Ditch 3

Ditch 3 was irregular in section and was filled with four gleyed and iron-panned silty loams (5.1 to 5.4). It measured *c.*1.8 m wide and a maximum of *c.*0.7 m deep.

6. Bank 3

This bank (6.2) was at the S end of the trench. It was low, *c.*3.5 m wide and *c.*0.25 m thick, and covered a buried topsoil (6.1). The bank matrix was a layer of crumbly silty loam capped by a single level of large flat stones.

7. Miscellaneous

A small negative feature, 7.1, was possibly linear. It measured *c.*0.6 m wide and *c.*0.2 m deep, and was filled with a loose silty loam soil. It cut Ditch 2.

7.2 was a relatively modern ditch, for a tile drain, cut into the top of Ditch 1. It measured *c.*0.45 m wide and *c.*0.5 m deep.

7.3 was modern turf and topsoils (A- and B-horizons).

Results

Standard bulk samples were collected from every soil context for subsequent processing and routine soil analysis. However, the soils were mostly waterlogged or gleyed silty clays which proved difficult to flotate. Those soils which could be processed produced no identifiable seeds, or carbonised macroplant remains. Other samples, taken to retrieve material for radiocarbon dating, proved unsuitable for this purpose since there was insufficient charcoal. Because of the lack of radiocarbon dates, soil thin section samples and routine soil samples were not analysed. No finds were recovered.

Interpretation

There is no reason to doubt that the original excavation of Ditch 1 and the construction of Banks 1 and 2 took place at the same time, and that together they form the 'defences' of Enclosure A. The soil derived from the excavation of the ditch appears to have been dumped on both sides and no evidence of any revetment was found in the excavated area. The interior of the enclosure was lower than the land beyond the earthworks around most of their circuit (Fig 2) and, therefore, although impressive, they may not have been defensive as such.

Ditch 1 probably infilled gradually. As the clay subsoil and, presumably, the redeposited subsoil banks were relatively stable, it is unlikely that the ditch had backfilled rapidly because of erosion. Instead, the ditch seems to have remained open and wet over a lengthy period, and may have often held standing water. The lower fills were mostly silty clays deposited in waterlogged conditions. The upper fills, clayey peats, also suggested wet conditions.

The relationship between the earthworks of Enclosure A and the other main features in the excavated area is uncertain. Ditch 2 appears to cut Bank 1 and the buried topsoil under it, but the length of the interval between the two events is unknown. It is possible that Ditches 2 and 3, Feature 7.1, and Bank 3 are in some way related to each other in function, with Ditch 3/Feature 7.1 replacing Ditch 2. Bank 3 could be the dump from the excavation of Ditch 3. Aerial photographs show a slight linear feature (Fig 1, X) running NW-SE across the site at this point in the direction of a modern farm gateway. Thus, a relatively modern agricultural function for Ditches 2 and 3, Feature 7.1, and Bank 3 cannot be ruled out. The same aerial photographs show another linear feature (Fig 1, Y), hitherto unrecognised, in the SE side of Enclosure B.

Discussion

Except for proving that Enclosure A was defined by a large ditch and double banks, the excavation has added little to our understanding of the site. The positioning of the trench was restricted to the line of the modern drainage operations and therefore did not investigate the earthworks of Enclosure B. As a result, any relationship between the other main features (4-7) and the later enclosure could not be ascertained.

It is unfortunate that no dating material was retrieved from the excavation. Enclosure A appears to be one of a small group of rectilinear or D-shaped enclosures of unknown date in upper Teviotdale, several located within a few kilometres of this site (*e.g.* Gray Hill 2, NT 461 073, Crom Rig, NT 428 067, and Dodburn, NT 483 075 (RCAHMS 1956, nos 999, 1000, and 160 respectively)). Also similar in form to Enclosure A, with double banks and medial ditch, are a number of sites to the SW in Annandale and Eskdale District (e.g. Tanlawhill, NY 232 914 (Jobey 1971, 88-9, Fig 9; RCAHMS 1980, 13), Shiel Burn 1 (Jobey 1971, 87-90, Fig 10; RCAHMS 1980, 13) and Bank Head Hill 2 (Jobey 1971, 88 and 90, Fig 10; RCAHMS 1980, 9), all in Eskdale). The Annandale and Eskdale examples, also undated, differ slightly from the Teviotdale group in that they are smaller in internal dimensions and exhibit traces of scooped platforms for timber round houses.

The entry in the Roxburghshire *Inventory* for Allan Water (*op cit*) compares Enclosure

A to the earthwork at The Dod, 600m to the NE (RCAHMS 1956, no 1001). The Dod, however, although lying in a similar marshy position in the same valley, more closely resembles Enclosure B at Allan Water, being oval rather than rectilinear and having internal scooped courts. The Dod, excavated between 1979 and 1981, appears to be a long-lived settlement dating from the late pre-Roman Iron Age (Smith 1982, 134). A date in the earlier Iron Age at the latest for Allan Water Enclosure A and similar earthworks in the area should, therefore, be considered a possibility.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the landowner, Mr R Anderson of Priesthaugh, for his assistance during the excavation. Thanks are also due to the site assistants, Niall Sharples and Denise Drury. The illustrations were prepared by Keith Speller.

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Smith, I M 1982 'Excavations at The Dod 1979-1981' in Harding D W (ed) *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland*. Edinburgh. (= University of Edinburgh Department of Archaeology Occasional Paper No 8), 129-35.

The Society is indebted to the Scottish Development Department (Historic Buildings and Monuments) for a grant towards the publication costs of this report.

ROMAN PENETRATION IN WEST DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY: A FIELD SURVEY

by

Allan Wilson, B.A., B.D., M.A.

Assuming the first major Roman occupation in West Dumfries and Galloway c.82AD, the most likely pattern is one of lateral penetration westward from Annandale and Clydesdale and longitudinal penetration along river valleys. Once penetrated a pattern of cordon control with permanent sites and roads is to be expected. The aim of this article is to examine the topographical framework in the light of recent research particularly in Galloway.

This research constitutes extensive fieldwork backed by literary investigation and examination of finds where available. It is important to distinguish, however, the relative merits of different sources of information. Modern fieldwork and aerial photography carry much greater weight of authority than do references by earlier antiquarian and other writers (e.g. *OSA*) who may not have been discriminating in their attempts to validate their sources of information. Even when finds are validated, there is still a critical question of their significance. The discovery of Roman finds from contemporary native sites implies Roman contact but does not indicate whether this is by first, second or later hand. The survival of Roman finds on pre and post Roman native sites poses problems of interpretation not adequately explained by heirloom theories. Conversely there is the problem of native finds discovered on Roman sites and their significance for Romano-native interaction. Isolated finds present an even greater problem of interpretation. Genuine finds of Roman material contemporary with the Roman military occupation of Scotland, if not modern losses, may indicate general Roman presence in an approximate area, but may have been carried to the find spot by natives. The most relevant recent assessment of the relationship between Roman and native in Scotland is that of Keppie in *Research on Roman Britain 1960-89.*[1] The present article concentrates on fieldwork and aerial photography. Finds of Roman and Romano-Native material are recorded where relevant but their significance must be assessed in the light of the comments above, care being taken to establish priority in determining the relative weight of authority for each source of information. Isolated Roman finds must not be ignored; they must be accurately recorded and investigated. Failure to do this in the past has led to Roman sites being ignored, e.g. Loudoun Hill, a site now lost, but fortunately rediscovered in 1938 and excavated by Professor St. Joseph before destruction. The site was referred to with measurements by the writer of the *NSA* for the parish and a denarius of Augustus found there in 1831,[2] the latter being recorded by Sir George Macdonald in 1918[3] and details of the site were further publicized by Stuart in 1845.[4]

Figures 1a and 1b show the location of the features described in this paper. Photographs of some of them have been lodged in Dumfries Museum; these are marked * in the text.

1. L. Keppie, Beyond the Northern Frontier: Roman and Native in Scotland, in *Research on Roman Britain, 1960-89*, ed. M. Todd, *Britannia Monograph* 11, pp. 68 ff.
2. *NSA*, Galston, V, 1837, p. 181.
3. *PSAS*, lii, 1918, p. 237.
4. R. Stuart, *Caledonia Romana*, 1845, p. 239.

Lateral Lines

The southern trunk route

(a) From Annan to Fleet

The line west of Annandale was established by St. Joseph in 1938/39[5] and subsequently confirmed by discoveries of sites on the line including the fort at Lochmaben discovered in 1989.[6] The writer of the *OSA* for Tinwald describes a branch road from Duncow to what is clearly Carzield NX 968818.[7] West of Dalswinton NX 933848, the Roman line is marked by the unclassified road from Sunnyhill NX 926822 to the Cluden Water. North of Sunnyhill where the modern road deviates from the line, the road is confirmed on a recent RCAHMS photograph showing quarry pits as it runs to Friars Carse where late first century A.D. Roman paterae have been found[8] and close to the Roman camps at Ellisland NX 928843. As it approaches the flood plain of the Cluden, the road is built on a substantial causeway and runs past the Roman camps at Fourmerkland NX 914801. Across the Cluden the line is uncertain, either past Ingleston Motte or west by the Old Water or as Inglis suggested past Horsebog Loch and Dalquhairn Hill.[9] The first route could well lead to the OMR (Old Military Road) close to Lochrutton Crannog NX 898730, a site producing some Romano-Native material which may be contemporary.[10] The other two lines would pass the Roman camps at Shawhead NX 878762 and then make for the OMR. Traces of a possible Roman road, where a deviation from the OMR was built in 1825 between Court Hill and Milton, were identified from the air by St. Joseph.[11] Crawford's dismissal of a possible Roman road through the Glenarms in no way invalidates the Court Hill-Milton stretch as possibly Roman;[12] nearby Milton Loch Crannog has produced a Roman military dress fastener of Pannonian type and dated Hadrianic-Antonine.[13] Beyond Milton the OMR may mark a Roman line crossing the Urr at Haugh of Urr.

A deviation from the OMR from Hardgate to the Urr was built in 1812 to avoid the steep gradient and the crossing of the Urr is probably the main west road crossing referred to as the "Steps of Or" in 1642. Denarii of Tiberius, Hadrian and Commodus were found near here in 1794.[14] As the hoard could not have been deposited before c 180AD it may be a native rather than a Roman loss. West of here the Roman objective would be Glenlochar NX 735645 where a Roman line would deviate from the OMR.

5. S. N. Miller, *The Roman Occupation of South Western Scotland.* 1952, pp. 44 ff.
6. *Glasgow Herald*, 14/8/1989.
7. *OSA*, i, 1791, p. 165.
8. The paterae were not part of the finds from Friars Carse crannog but were found in a moss during construction in 1790 of the Turnpike road from Dumfries to Sanquhar (*Archaeologia*, xi, 1808, p. 105). Richmond and St. Joseph's suggestion that they came from the crannog has not been established (*TDGS*, xxxiv, 1955-56, p. 11 f).
9. *TDGS*, xxxi, 1952-53, pp. 25 ff.
10. Material from Lochrutton dates from the Bronze to the Middle Ages, but the Romano-Native material is from a crannog (*TDGS*, xvii, pts 1 and 2, 1901-2, p. 128 and pt 3, 1902-3, p. 246). The corroded nail cleaner (Hunterian Museum B 1951 822) is reminiscent of those from Traprain Law (*PSAS*, lxxxix, 1955-56, p. 182 nos. 248-9).
11. *TDGS*. xxxi, 1952-3, pl. 1.
12. *TDGS*, xxxi, 1952-3, pp. 23 ff and *DAES*, 1971, p. 26.
13. *PSAS*, lxxxvii, 1952-3, p. 144 f and fig. 9, J. P. Gillam's comments in I. A. Richmond, *Roman and Native in North Britain*, 1958, pp. 84 ff and 90 and *Britannia*, i, 1970, p. 155. The crannog has a radio-carbon date, however, of 400-490BC +/— 100 (*Antiquity* 48, 1974 p. 54).
14. *OSA*, xi, 1794, p. 70. Despite Robertson's alternative suggestion that they may have come from the Mote of Urr (*PSAS*, cxiii, 1983, p. 410), the most likely provenance is Buittle Mill, ½ mile west of the Mote. The "Roman" sword claimed by Chalmers found in a cist at nearby Carlochan Cairn is an Early Bronze Age dagger blade (*TDGS*, xlii, 1965, p. 71 and lii, 1976-77, p. 45).

West of Glenlochar and its possible *mansio* a crossing of the Dee could then have led to the line used by the OMR. Rickson, responsible for building the OMR, informs us that he opened up a new northerly line to Gatehouse from Ringford via Irelandton Moor.[15] From Gatehouse perhaps near Girthon the Roman line would have led to the fortlet NX 595576. Newall has suggested a more northerly route along the Barley Burn.[16] At Gatehouse St. Joseph has established the line of the Roman road running south of the fortlet to a crossing of the Fleet.[17] That the purpose of the fortlet was to guard the crossing is indicated by the fact that there were rapids between Boat Green NX 598560 and the fortlet thus preventing navigation.[18] It is interesting to note, on the interaction of Roman and native, use of beehive and bun querns in a Roman oven inside the west rampart of the Roman fortlet.[19]

(b) From Fleet to Cree

There are two ancient lines of penetration west of the Fleet. The first can be seen at Killern NX 582583 where it is c.4 m. wide, on a slight terrace, with foundation and ditch rock cut in places, whence it travels directly SW to Ardwall Hill and then turns quite sharply to Kings Laggan and then southerly at Doon Hill to Lauchentyre NX 557576. Beyond Lauchentyre the first edition OS Map indicates it as the OMR, crossing the Skyre Burn heading for south of Glen at NX 551576 then heading north west between Stronach and Cambert hills to the Corse of Slakes. This identification is wrong. The stretch westward of Glen is the pre-Turnpike line mapped by Roy.[20] The stretch from Lauchentyre to Glen was Rickson's original line for the OMR but was abandoned because of local objection.[21] This road from Killern to Kings Laggan is interesting but may not be Roman.

The second route west of the Fleet is attractive following an impressive unclassified road from Bog Hall Wood and Woodend to Anwoth Old Kirk NX 583562. This line is again wrongly identified as the OMR on some OS maps. Rickson indicates that the OMR ran from the Fleet Bridge past the double promontory fort of Trusty's Hill to Anwoth Old Kirk following an existing road.[22] The second line of penetration now joins the OMR at Anwoth Old Kirk following a purposeful course up Ardwall Hill, across the Black and Skyre Burns to the Corse of Slakes. A road already existed on this line.[23] Above the Old Kirk the road is now dilapidated, c.4-5 m. wide within ditches, both the road and ditches being rock cut in places (not an unusual feature in 18th century roads) with what may be the remains of kerb stones in places. Kerbs

15. *TDGS*, xlv, 1968, p. 212.
16. *DAES*, 1981, p. 8.
17. *Britannia*, xvi, 1985, p. 267.
18. *TDGS*, lii, 1976-77, p. 126.
19. Ed. B. Hartley and J. Wacher, *Rome and Her Northern Provinces*, pp 228 ff and figs. 4 and 5. (The stones are R5962 in Dumfries Burgh Museum).
20. W. Roy, *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, 1793, map sheet 111049.
21. Anderson implies that the stretch from Lauchentyre to Glen was the pre-Turnpike (*TDGS*, xlv, 1968, p. 212). Roy's route for the pre-Turnpike appears to confirm such a crossing of the Skyre Burn. Anderson, however, does question Roy's accuracy in mapping certain stretches of road. Rickson confirms that the Lauchentyre to Glen section was abandoned in favour of the Corse of Slakes route. (*TDGS*, xxviii, 1949-50, pp. 124 ff).
22. It is interesting to note that the first period of occupation at Trusty's Hill was during the Roman military occupation of Scotland, its excavator suggesting the defences were raised not so much against the Romans as against the natives in the Galloway hinterland. (*TDGS*, xxxviii, 1959-60, pp. 58 ff).
23. *TDGS*, xlv, 1968, p. 212.

were not used on the OMR and, in accordance with road building practice at this time, any large cobbles would be discarded or broken into small metalling thus destroying any significant Roman material. Gravel and not cobble was the usual surface in eighteenth century roads. Rickson also informs us that he made a small diversion on the Hacks of Anwoth and evidence of a previous road running on a more direct line is observable on aerial photographs and suggested by Roy. Rickson confirms the construction of the OMR over the Corse of Slakes in 1763 and 1764.[21] The line is best examined travelling from east to west. Traces at two points on the Corse of Slakes of an ancient road showing Roman characteristics were observed in 1960.[24]

Once past the cattle grid at NX 546584 and the limit of cultivation, the OMR appears to be laid on the northern side of a much wider agger of at least 7-8 m. within side ditches, the southern of which has been used as a hollow way and subject to stream flooding*. Where cut by streams the agger shows evidence of c. 0.7 m. of yellow clay above light metal and cobble foundation with some evidence of kerbs. Aerial photographs confirm the presence of metalling in the agger across Glenquicken Moor. At the bridge over the Englishman's Burn NX 521585, there are two hollow ways and stone foundation on the south side much wider than expected for the present bridge*. If this is a Roman road why should there be such an agger? Rickson encountered serious engineering problems on this section owing to springs and this agger may have been part of a Roman response to local engineering problems. That the preserved character of a Roman road can change as this does at NX 546584, is evident on Ryknield Street in Sutton Park, Birmingham, at the Royal Oak Gate. North of the park cross road the agger is barely noticeable where used by the public, but south of it the agger is as substantial as that on the Corse of Slakes and the same dimensions. The Corse of Slakes road does hold to a significant terrace curving round the shoulder of Stronach Hill and continues as far west as Burns NX 485589. Beyond this the modern road is in no way Roman nor is it the OMR. This modern stretch was built in 1811 and the OMR continued straight down the Englishman's Burn high bank to Creetown.[25] Other minor modifications were made on the Corse of Slakes in 1824.[26] A Roman origin seems likely for the agger as far as Garrochar. A close examination of terrain between Garrochar and Creetown shows the OMR following a carefully chosen line perhaps the most direct amongst numerous streams and burns showing an adaptability reminiscent of Roman work in this same trunk road at Lochbanks after crossing the Annan.[5]

North of Creetown Rickson found it impossible to deviate from the existing line through Spittal and Cuil which runs to a crossing of the Palnure Burn at Bardrochwood.[27] This line could be Roman though now destroyed in places at least by the railway. The deviation from Cuil to Muirfad was built from 1786-88.[28] Across the Palnure, Rickson wished to avoid but was forced to use the Path, one of the oldest roads in Galloway, through Blackcraig, Heronscroft and Kirroughtree.[29] At this point

24. *DAES*, 1960, p. 29.
25. *TDGS*, xlv, 1968, p. 215.
26. *TDGS*, xliv, 1967, p. 215.
27. Maxwell suggested the name Bardrochwood implied an ancient crossing, meaning bridge hill in Gaelic (Sir H. Maxwell, *The Place Names of Galloway*, 1930, p. 23).
28. *TDGS*, xliv, 1967, p. 210.
29. *TDGS*, xxviii, 1949-50, pp.125, 126 and 132.

the OMR changed alignment to cross the Cree though Anderson considers the Path probably continued along the east bank of the Cree to the Bridge of Minnoch[30]. The Turnpike line from Caldow to Creebridge was built after 1812 following the rebuilding of the bridge.[31]

(c) The Crossing of the Cree

The ancient crossing of the Cree was at the Machermore Ford NX 413651 marking the junction of two ancient roads, the coastal road from Dumfries and the mid Galloway trunk road referred to as the "Old Edinburgh Road"*. There is a very substantial agger approaching the ford by the by-pass bridge*. Only a short stretch survives before destruction by the by-pass though an early map shows the agger continuing. This agger could be joined by an ancient steep descent from the Path at Heronscroft NX 438649. It is on these plains that earlier antiquaries cited a battle involving the Romans and Sir John Clerk on his visit in 1721 referred to "a proper place for an encampment".[32] Extensive fieldwork in land around the Machermore ford and castle has failed to produce a Roman site. A possible site could be under the present Machermore Castle. At the back of the castle is a well which I am assured was identified as Roman by engineers from Strathclyde University c. twenty-five years ago NX 417645. Roman finds have been claimed in this area, though it is unlikely that any of these constitute evidence for Roman occupation.[33] Across the Cree a more interesting validated Roman find is an as of Trajan found in the now substantially tarmacadamed garden of Douglas House NX 409664, situated on the 50 foot countour on the west bank of the Cree.[34] Below this site are substantial remains of a bridge with squared blocks of stone with dowel and cramp marks. These are presumably the remains of the bridge built between 1745 and 1748. A Roman crossing could have occurred at the site of the present bridge from Minnigaff but is more likely at the Machermore ford and would be a suitable crossing point for a Roman line to the west following the OMR. If a Roman site was not located at this point of the Cree, then a site further downstream on the higher ground near the ancient crossing of the Palnure Burn at its junction with the Cree should be sought c. NX 458644.

(d) From Cree to Loch Ryan

A complex of roads emerges west of the Cree but an interesting stretch of the OMR continues the straight stretch of the A75 west of Ardachie NX 323629. Here there are remains of a metalled road c. 4 m. wide with side ditches similar to the OMR north of Anwoth and with possible discarded kerbs. Beyond this point further research is required to confirm the possibility of a Roman line. A crossing of the

30. *TDGS*, xliv, 1967, p. 207.
31. *TDGS*, xliv, 1967, p. 213.
32. *TDGS*, xli, 1962-3, p. 195.
33. Gordon refers to a probable Roman helmet found in a tumulus (A. Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionalis*, 1726, p. 172). Chalmers refers to part of a Roman securis found by the Cree (G. Chalmers, *Caledonii Romana*, vol. 1, 1807, p. 106). This is presumably the Middle Bronze Age rapier or dirk identified in *PSAS*, lvii, 1922-23, p. 138 and fig. 3/67 and *TDGS*, xlii, 1965, p. 78, fig. 8/2 and p. 88. Coins of Gallienus and Tetricius may have been found in Cairns in Minnigaff (*PSAS*, ciii, 1970-71, p. 123). Some tumuli opened on the banks of the Cree in 1754 close to earthworks produced unidentified armour though probably Bronze Age rather than Roman (*OSA*, vii, 1793, p. 60).
34. *PSAS*, xciv, 1949-50, p. 156.
35. An unidentified ancient ship was discovered in Stranraer, see *Archaeologia Scotica*, iii, 1831, pp. 51 ff and *Antiquity*, xiv, 1940, p. 434.

Luce at Glenluce c. 15 miles from Newton Stewart, where a small Roman site might be expected guarding the crossing as at Gatehouse, would then lead to the terminal objective. It has been assumed that this is in the area of Stranraer.[35] Local tradition suggests Innermessan[36] probably related to the medieval mote but a more likely objective would be Cairnryan which provides the best harbour site in the loch. Chalmers places Rerigonium near Cairnryan but without explanation. The coastline has changed and the Scar bank running south west across the loch may have been a more substantial obstacle in Roman times. Cairnryan was chosen not only during the Second World War as a naval base but also for the fleet of William III in 1689. I understand there is a possibility that the hoard of Roman coins found in an army camp near Stranraer during the Second World War may have been found at Cairnryan.[37] On the other hand is this hoard and that from Airds Farm one and the same?[38] Another hoard of coins from Wigtownshire as yet unpublished is held in the Anderson Collection at Stranraer. Both of these hoards, however, reflect conditions at a much later date than the major Roman occupation of Scotland.

A Roman road west of Glenluce could have followed a line similar to the A75 to Dunragit. Numerous Roman finds have been made in this area including the cremation burial of a Roman at High Torrs NX 141556.[39] These finds, however, may indicate no more than coastal trade. From Dunragit a Roman line could have run to Cairnryan west of White Loch close to Airds Farm NX 096601 where Roman coins are alleged to have been discovered[38] or east of Black Loch where a crannog produced two Romano-Native finds NX 114612 though these do not indicate Roman military presence.[40] During the Second World War troops practised road building on the eastern slopes of Loch Ryan but older stretches of road can be seen at Beoch, where a "Roman" spear (perhaps Bronze Age) was claimed to have been discovered in 1825,[41] and north from Bankhead to beyond Lochryan Hall. An alternative possibility to a road west of Glenluce would have been for a road northwards along the Water of Luce,[42] and then turning directly westward to Cairnryan. Such a line would present difficult engineering problems but an old road did exist, as yet unexamined, running from Dalhabboch and Awies across Loch Doon Hill and down the Claddy House Burn.

A Mid Galloway Trunk Route

Such a route has been established westward from Crawford along the Well Path to the fortlet at Durisdeer NS 902049 and then presumably across the Nith to the fort at

35. An unidentified ancient ship was discovered in Stranraer, see *Archaeologia Scotica*, iii, 1831, pp. 51 ff and *Antiquity*, xiv, 1940, p. 434.
36. The horn found at Innermessan is Bronze Age (*TDGS*, xlii, 1965, p. 84, fig. 10/11 and p. 86). Presumably this is the "spear" discovered in 1835 (N. Lebour, *Wanderings around Stranraer and Glenluce*, 1907, p. 4).
37. *PSAS*, xciv, 1949-50, p. 151.
38. *PSAS*, ciii, 1970-71, p. 128.
39. *TDGS*, lv, 1980, pp. 72 ff.
40. R. Munro, *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings*, 1882, pp. 57 ff and *PSAS*, lx, 1925-26, pp. 388 ff. The Romano-Native finds are unstratified on a site which may have been occupied at different times from prehistory perhaps until the reign of Charles II.
41. *NSA*, iv, p. 232.
42. Isolated Roman finds have been made along the Water of Luce including a coin of Constantius II found in the river bed at c. NX 174648.

Drumlanrig NS 852989. There is a tradition of a Roman road running south west from this point to Galloway[43] and stretches of Roman road past Penpont and Tynron Doon are recorded by *OSA* writers.[44] The Moniaive end of the old hill road may be Roman but the line of the A702 between Kirkland and Moniaive is more impressive. The name Penpont translated by Watson[45] as "bridgehead" may originate from a Roman crossing of the Scar. Chalmers refers to a Roman road branching towards Ayrshire along the Scar[46] and Clarke considered there might be a Roman patrol road along the Shinnel over Colt, Black and Coranbae Hills and thence over the shoulders of the Mid Hill of Greenhead and Windy Standard.[47] Newall and Lonie have recently drawn attention to a road with Roman characteristics following the Lorg Burn and joining an ancient road along the Ken at NS 669009.[48] Such routes up Scar and Shinnel remain speculative at present. The discovery by RCAHMS in 1989 of a small Roman post between Penpont and Moniaive removes from speculation a Mid Galloway route.[6] The small size of the post suggests Moniaive would seem an unlikely terminal point and a trunk road crossing the rivers Dalwhat, Ken and Cree with a terminal objective the same as the southern trunk route is more likely. This line marks a road of great antiquity travelled by James IV in 1497 and 1501, Queen Mary in 1563 and Sir John Clerk in 1721 and 1735, a regular pilgrimage route to Whithorn. Beyond Moniaive a Roman line could have followed the Castlefairn Water and Blackmark and Garple Burns to the junction with the Ken where a Roman post could be expected. There are various tracks between Corriedoo and the Ken though Anderson regarded the most ancient as running generally north of the A702.[49] East of Corriedoo the upper stretches of the A702 may mark a Roman line. West of the Ken Anderson has outlined a complex sequence of old roads.[49] Significant points along this line are Clatteringshaws,[50] the Saddle Loup and Loch of the Lowes. Rickson and Debbieg in 1757 noted a much older road to the north of the Palnure valley similar to the Old Edinburgh road but not identical leaving it one mile south west of the Loch of the Lowes and rejoining it north of the Saddle Loup.[51] Anderson suggests this route was disused in the sixteenth century or earlier.[52] Detailed research is needed on this line to uncover the complex sequence of roads.

A South Ayrshire Cross Route

The existence of temporary camps at Girvan NX 188996 and 192992 may suggest a permanent site there. There have been discoveries of Samian ware[53] and a coin of Antoninus Pius on the shore by the harbour NS 183982.[54] An alternative site close to the traditional ford could be at NX 185985 now a caravan park but marked with an enclosure by Roy.[55] The harbour offers little prospect of surveillance to the north and the site

43. R. Stuart, *o.c.*, p. 256.
44. *OSA*, i, 1791, Penpont, p. 209.
45. W. J. Watson, *Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, 1926, p. 180.
46. G. Chalmers, *o.c.*, p. 154.
47. *TDGS*, xxx, 1951-52, pp. 116 ff. Perhaps Chalmers' and Clarke's lines coincide in the hinterland.
48. *DAES*, 1989, pp. 13 and 59.
49. *TDGS*, xlv, 1968, pp. 215 ff.
50. It is claimed the name Clatteringshaws comes from the Gaelic for ford (Maxwell, *o.c.*, p. 23). Two Romano-Native glass bangle fragments of late first/second century AD date were found in a hut site at Moss Raploch NX 554777 (*TDGS* liii, 1977-78, p. 108) though these do not imply Roman physical presence.
51. W. Rickson and T. Debbieg, "Report of a survey of a proposed road from the River Sark to Portpatrick", Scottish Record Office, *Broughton and Cally Muniments* no. 547.
52. *TDGS*, xlv, 1968, p. 216.
53. *Britannia*, ix, 1978, pp. 397 ff.
54. *PSAS*, xciv, 1960-61, p. 138.
55. Roy, *o.c.*, sheet 111035.

may be significant for lateral communications along the Water of Girvan and the hinterland beyond the corridors of Doon and Nith. Roman finds of Flavian and Antonine date were made at Lochspouts Crannog NS 288058.[56] The name of Straiton may be significant, a point not lost on the writer of the *OSA* in discussing local antiquities.[57] East of Straiton the B741 follows the Lambdoughty Burn which flows into the Water of Girvan and commands a topographical line for five miles reminiscent of Roman work*. The pre-Turnpike road from Straiton to Dalmellington ran on a different line according to Roy, along the Shalloch and Dalcairnie Burns crossing the Nith at Dalfarson NS 477028.[58] Yet aerial photographs show an older straighter line where the B741 deviates in its approach to Straiton at NS 393054. Quarry pits observed may not be Roman. At Dalmellington a Roman post could be expected near the junction with a Doon Valley road. East of Dalmellington there are numerous mineral roads but an objective in the Cumnock/New Cumnock area at a junction with the Nith road is likely. St. Joseph has suggested the continuation of a link road to Clydesdale along the natural corridor of Lugar, Bellow, Ayr and Douglas Waters.[53] An alternative cross link route has been proposed on a more northerly line to the B741 by Newall and Lonie.[59]

Longitudinal Lines

The Lower Annan

Temporary camps at Ruthwell NY 102677 and both sides of the Annan mouth NY 179652 and 192650 indicate Roman military manoeuvres. A Roman anchor has been found at Ruthwell[60] and finds from Annan town centre, including a Roman military arm purse[61] and a coin of Hadrian dug up at Butts Street,[62] might suggest in consideration with topographical factors that there may be a Roman post beneath the town. If so, a spur road along the Annan to join the main Annandale road could be expected.[63]

The Nithsdale Road

Permanent sites of Ward Law NX 024669 and Lantonside NY 010662 indicate Roman control of the coastal area from Nith to Lochar Water. The road north of Ward Law is unknown but following Gordon's description,[64] a line is possible on the ridge through Trohoughton where the *OSA* writer claims the find of a Roman sandal[65] and where Major General Scott Elliott found traces of a road,[66] past Dumfries where isolated Roman coins have been found,[67] and north to Dalswinton and the Auldgirth gap. North of Barburgh Mill NX 903884 Clarke suggested a line through Gatelaw Bridge and Morton Mains to Durisdeer.[68] The discovery of the fort at Drumlanrig and crossing of the Nith there

56. R. Munro, *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings*, 1882, pp 158ff, *AHCAW*, iii, 1882, pp 1ff and iv, 1884, and *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, 1890, pp 418ff. The Roman finds are deposited at Edinburgh (NMA HW 17, 18, 21, 25, 28 and 35-38) and could have been acquired from Romans. Coins of Maximian from Crosshill (*PSAS*, cxii, 1982, p 411) and Ptolemy Euergetes from near Maybole (*PSAS*, ciii, 1970-71, p 120) do not indicate Roman military presence.
57. *OSA*, iii, 1792, Straiton, p 586.
58. Roy, *o.c.*, sheet 111077.
59. *DAES*, 1973, p 17 f, 1984, p 33 and 1985, p 84 f.
60. Dumfries Burgh Museum 262.
61. *AA4*, xli, 1963, pp 16 ff, no. 8 and fig. 4.
62. *PSAS*, lviii, 1923-24, p 328.
63. A small fragment of Roman pottery came from the deepest levels of the vallum at Brydekirk Chapel NY 185711, a site whose earliest structure remains unexamined (*DAES*, 1983, p 6). The Roman fragment does not imply Roman occupation.
64. Gordon, *o.c.*, pp 18 ff.
65. *OSA*, v, 1793, p 142.
66. *DAES*, 1960, p 27.
67. A Roman pick-axe was discovered c. 1867 in laying the foundations of Greyfriars Church NX 972763 (*TDGS*, xli, 1962, p 361, Dumfries Burgh Museum 240) and an aureus of Augustus was found c. 1790 in the Nith opposite the town mills, c. NX 974754 (*OSA*, v, 1793, p 142 and *PSAS*, lii, 1917-18 pp 242 and 255). Other Roman finds are unlocalized.
68. *TDGS*, xxx, 1951-52, p 115.

implies a line closer to the A76 through Closeburn and Thornhill past the probable signal station NX 876948, as originally suggested by St. Joseph. Roman finds have been made either on or close to the line.[69] A possible Roman road was observed in 1989 during excavation at Carronbridge.[70] North of Drumlanrig, or Tibbers Castle, Maitland referred to a Roman road running to the estuary of the Clyde.[71] There is an old road along the west bank of the Nith but this line may have been too close to the flood plain for the Romans. Newall and Lonie have proposed the road along the Glenwhern and Twenty Shilling Burns, an interesting line but four miles west of the Nith.[72] A likely crossing point could be at Eliock Bridge NS 808081 but thereafter the road may lie beneath the A76 or the railway, proceeding to the fortlet at Sanquhar NS 785106. There is a plethora of old roads beyond Sanquhar and these can be seen on the railway embankment below the possible fortlet at Kirkconnel NS 748118, a site with details reminiscent of Barburgh Mill. The roads referred to above align with the A76 through Kirkconnel and while the pre-Turnpike according to Roy crossed the Nith at Cadgerhall, where a possible signal station has been suggested,[73] an ancient road runs along the east bank through the farms of Glenmuckloch Hall, Knowehead and Corsencon and where this road crosses streams there is cutting and embankment reminiscent of Roman work. Clarke recorded the corner of a possible temporary Roman camp at Buttknowe NS 724130.[74] At Corsencon Farm the road aligns with the parish road below the shoulder of Corsencon to the site of Street NS 655147. Aerial photographs suggest the possibility of a Roman site here with a road leaving the site curving to join the parish road mentioned above. A Samian sherd has been discovered at Merkland Knowe NS 663141. Beyond Street several possibilities emerge.[75] The most likely line is through Mounthope and Roughside past Cairnscadden and Avisyard Hills to Cumnock, a line recently examined by Newall and Lonie.[76] The Lugar would have been crossed either by ford NS 557204 or at the site of the present crossing of the A76. Substantial sandstone blocks were revealed in 1989 on both sides of the Lugar beneath the concrete foundations of the present bridge. A denarius of Faustina II has been found at Cumnock and a coin of Constans in a garden of a house in the main street at Auchinleck directly on the line of a possible Roman road on the A76.[77] The latter find is unlikely to indicate Roman presence. North of this point Clarke and Wilson have carried out extensive research on a possible Roman road line.[78]

A Dee, Ken and Doon Valley Route

The starting point for this research is the Roman road leading north from the fort and annexe at Glenlochar. Crawford speculated that the A713 from Crossmichael to Castle Douglas might be the main Dee Valley Roman line and questioned the objective of such an alignment on the coast perhaps implying the mouth of the Urr.[79] The Romans may

69. Roman finds consist of fragments of three glass phials from Closeburn deposited at Edinburgh (NMA FR 205) of types illustrated by Charlesworth in *AA4*, xxvii, 1959, p. 54 and figs 10/2 and 3 and pl. v/2. There is also from Closeburn the neck of a course-ware flagon (*Britannia*, i, 1970 pp 223ff). A coin of Constantius II found in a rabbit scrape on the south face of the probable signal station (*PSAS*, ciii, 1970-71, p 121) is unlikely to indicate Roman presence.
70. *DAES*, 1989, p 19.
71. W. Maitland, *The History of Scotland*, 1757, p 193.
72. *DAES*, 1988, p 10.
73. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, xli, 1951, p 58.
74. *TDGS*, *o.c.*, p 118.
75. *TDGS*, xxxvii, 1958-59, pp 153 ff.
76. *DAES*, 1986, p 33.
77. *PSAS*, xcv, 1960-61, p 138.
78. *TDGS*, *o.c.*, pp 143 ff.
79. *TDGS*, xxxi, 1952-53, p 23.

have landed at the mouth of the Urr though the Roman material from the nearby Mote of Mark NX 845540 cannot represent Roman presence.[80] A more likely objective for a Dee Valley route is at the mouth of the Dee. Samian ware and other Roman finds made their way to the caves at Torrs NX 677446[81] and Borness NX 621446[82] perhaps the result of trade, but the most likely site for a beachhead is Kirkcudbright lying on a raised gravel ridge on a tidal creek with an enclosed harbour used for English military intelligence from 1563-5. The land round the present parish church founded in 1569 does not look natural though it could mark the lost Mote Brae or the vanished Greyfriars convent founded in 1455. Roy marks this with an enclosure.[83] Three separate Roman coin finds have been discovered within the town though only one dates to the Roman military occupation of Scotland.[84] A line north of Kirkcudbright would pass near Carlingwark Loch c. NX763609 where a substantial metalwork hoard was deposited with a significant Roman element.[85] Scott has suggested the hoard as a deposit by native auxiliaries from Glenlochar[86] following Manning's suggestion of a likely late first or early second century date.[87] Crawford's line on the present A713 from Castle Douglas to Crossmichael may not be Roman as it was designed in 1792 by Gordon of Greenlaw and built by 1795, the previous road lying to the east through Springfield and Cairnhays.[88] The signal station to the north of Glenlochar is significant, presumably for valley control, and north of the site there is a complex sequence of roads through the valleys of Dee, Ken and Doon, Anderson questioning Roy's thoroughness in mapping these. The oldest tracks appear on the east side of the valleys. River levels have also changed and of the three bridges mentioned by Pont, the Old Brig over the Deuch, the High Bridge over the Ken and that over the Black Water at Kendoon, the first is now submerged. The A713 through Shermers Moss could mark a Roman line.

A Roman site should be sought at the junction with the Mid Galloway Trunk Route in the Dalry/New Galloway area and at the junction with the South Ayrshire Trunk Route in the Dalmellington area. Roman finds have been made near this line[89] but do not imply Roman presence. Beyond Dalmellington an objective on the Ayrshire coast is likely for a Roman road at the mouth of the Doon, Ayr or Irvine. Again there are a number of old roads along the Doon not just the pre-Turnpike line outlined by Chalmers and dismissed as Roman by Macdonald.[90] Newall and Lonie have drawn attention recently to an interesting road making for Rankinston via Benquhat, Kilmain and Ewe Hills.[91] If Roman

80. *PSAS*, xlviii, 1913-14, pp 125ff, *TDGS*, 50, 1973, pp 37 ff and *Antiquity*, 49, 1975. The Roman material consists of a very small fragment of Samian ware (NMA HH 231), a surface find, and a glass fragment which Curle thought window glass (*PSAS*, lxvi, 1931-32, p 374) but Harden suggested as part of a late Roman bowl (NMA HH 262- D. B. Harden, *Dark Age Britain*, 1956, p 150 f no. 22) found at a depth of a foot. The maximum span of occupation at the site is c. 400-700 AD, a citadel site with timber lacing reminiscent of contemporary South Cadbury in Somerset.

81. *PSAS*, lxxi, 1936-37, pp 415 ff. Pottery from the site spans a date range from pre-Roman to Jacobean.

82. *PSAS*, x, 1874, pp 476 ff, xi, 1875, pp 305 ff and xii, 1876-78 pp 669 ff. The Roman influence here is more significant. Were the inhabitants perhaps retreating from other natives in the hinterland as suggested at Trusty's Hill?

83. Roy, *o.c.*, sheet 111095.

84. A denarius of Vespasian dated to AD 70 (*PSAS*, lviii, 1923-24, p 238) and coins of Numerian from the garden of 2 Castle Gardens NX 682570 (*PSAS*, xciv, 1961, p 142 f) and Constans from the garden of Greengate in the high street NX 68510 (*PSAS*, lxviii, 1933-34, p 30).

85. *PSAS*, lxxxvii, 1952-53, pp 1 ff (NMA DW 1-87).

86. *GAJ*, iv, 1976, p 36.

87. *Britannia*, iii, 1972, p 233.

88. *TDGS*, xlv, 1968, p 221.

89. Two Romano-native glass beads from a tumulus at Greenlaw House, NX 754646?, near the pre-Turnpike road (*PSAS*, lxviii, 1932-33, p 314, nos. 92 and 93) a white metal forgery of Faustina found in the bank of the Ken below Dalry (*PSAS*, cxiii, 1983, p 413) possibly a modern loss and a Romano-native glass armlet from Donald's Isle, Loch Doon NS 494965 (*PSAS*, lxxi, 1936-37, p 330 and lxxxviii, 1954-55, pp208 ff and fig. 2, table 1, type 3b).

90. *PSAS*, xxvii, 1892, pp 417 ff. Macdonald's views on Roman penetration are no longer tenable. The road he examined does not completely coincide with that of Chalmers.

91. *DAES*, *1974*, p 26.

it could lead to crossings of Coyle at Drongan and Ayr at Stair, then making for Fail and hence possibly Irvine. At Fail there is a royal road granted to the Monks of Melrose in the thirteenth century[92] running presumably along the Avon valley possibly on the Roman road from Newstead and terminating presumably at Ayr which Roy identifies as the objective of the Avondale Road.[93]

A Cree Valley Route

See above for the southern trunk route from Creetown to Newton Stewart. A possible Roman crossing has been suggested at Machermore ford and four miles north west of this a possible Roman fortlet has recently been discovered by RCAHMS. The Pre-Turnpike road from Newton Stewart to Challoch followed a more southerly line than the A714[94] but the latter road may mark a Roman line along the Cree and on this line an as of Trajan was found at NX 409664[34]. A Roman fortlet could imply a road along the Cree towards Girvan. Confirmation of the Challoch site as Roman is awaited.

A Luce Valley Route

See above for such a possibility. There are at least two old roads along the Luce making for Ballantrae.

A North Coastal Route

See above for a route south of Cairnryan. North of Cairnryan is a hill road of some antiquity that was dismissed by Reid as Roman because of two kinks between Cairnryan and Little Laight.[95] There is no need to postulate these kinks as part of a Roman line. The southernmost kink at Lairds Hill could well be a diversion to prevent the public using the original road through the private estate of Lochryan House. The second kink is merely a diversion at NX 063708 to the farm of Little Laight. The original road may have continued straight past the ancient Taxing Stone,[96] an ideal spot as proved in the Second World war for reconnaissance of all shipping in and out of Loch Ryan. At this point the road width is c. 4 m. with side ditches and a scatter of possible kerbs. Rebuilding of this road may have led to some deviation but it holds to a good line rising from sea level to 500 feet in a mile. Beyond the Taxing Stone the road disappears in Laight Moor* but its line may be preserved by field boundaries. It rejoins the A77 at Haggstone. Roy's mapping of roads in this area makes identification difficult but after a crossing of the App the objective of a Roman road would be the mouth of the Stinchar at Ballantrae. A coin of Trajan or Hadrian discovered near Ardstinchar Castle might conceivably be an original loss[98] but a Roman beachhead would be more likely on the fifty foot contours near Garleffin.* Beyond Ballantrae, Girvan would be the next objective. St. Joseph has suggested a coastal route would be possible.[53] An old road runs over Bennane Head and Pinbane Hill but Balsalloch Hill poses acute problems. The Romans may have preferred an inland route along the Stinchar via Colmonell.[98] The discovery of Roman camps at Girvan confirms a Roman presence along this coast providing a prospect for Agricola's troops facing Ireland and a springboard for a naval expedition to Kintyre and the western isles.

92. *CAANHS*, ser. ii, i, 1947-49, pp 140 ff.
93. Roy, *o.c.*, p 106.
94. Roy, *o.c.*, sheet 111048.
95. *TDGS*, xxxvii, 1958-59, pp 133 ff.
96. *RCAHMS*, Wigtownshire, no. 47 and *The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Scotland*, 26, East Rhinns, 1987, No. 153.
97. *PSAS*, xciv, 1961, p 138.
98. A sestertius of Antoninus Pius found among loose stones on the surface of Dalreoch Hill appears to be a recent loss (*PSAS*, ciii, 1970-71, p 120).

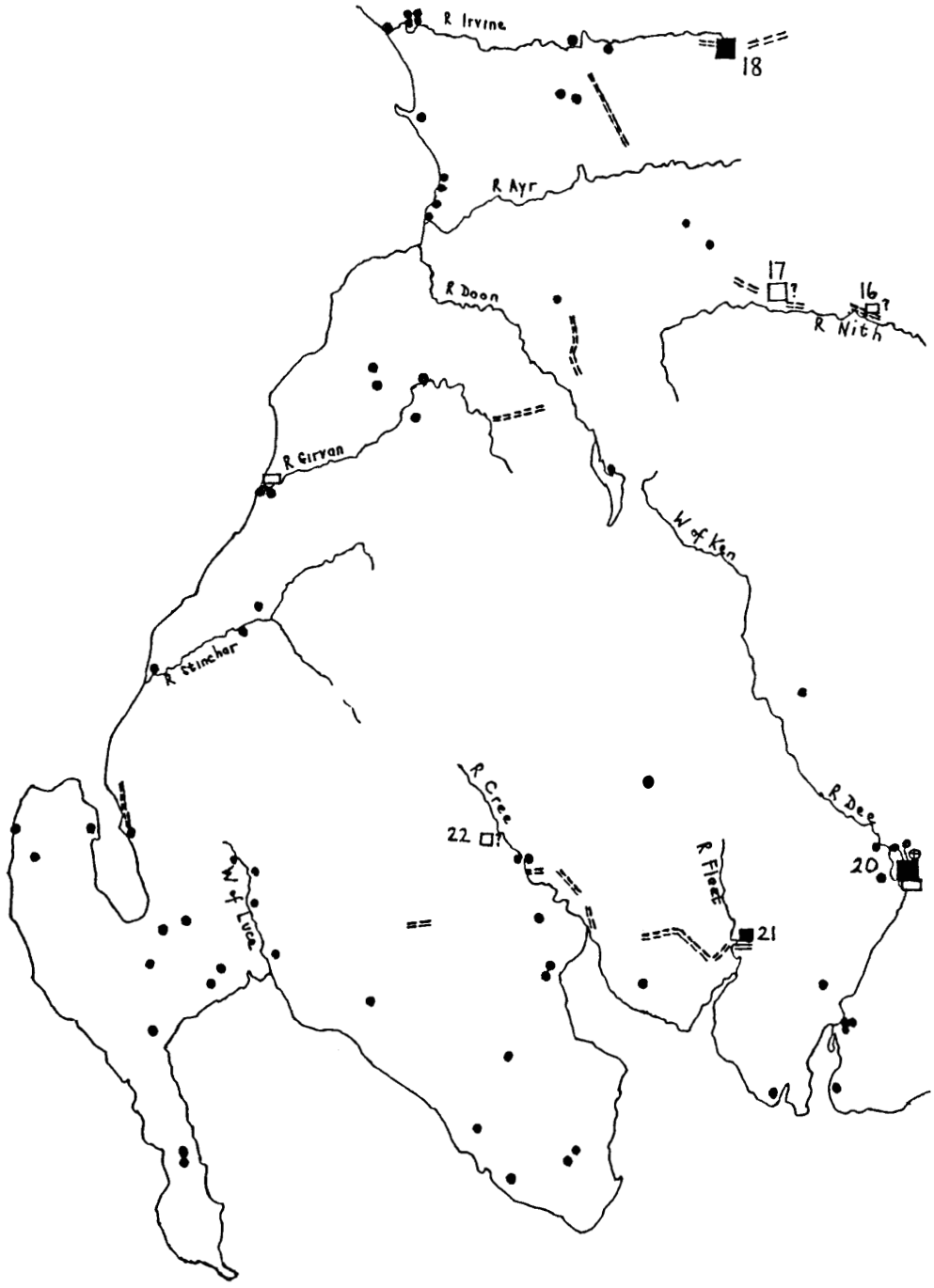

Fig. 1a : Roman Penetration West of the Annan. Key to numbered sites:
16 Kirkconnel; 17 Street; 18 Loudoun Hill; 20 Glenlochar; 21 Gatehouse; 22 Challoch.
N.B. There is an overlap between this and Figure 1b.

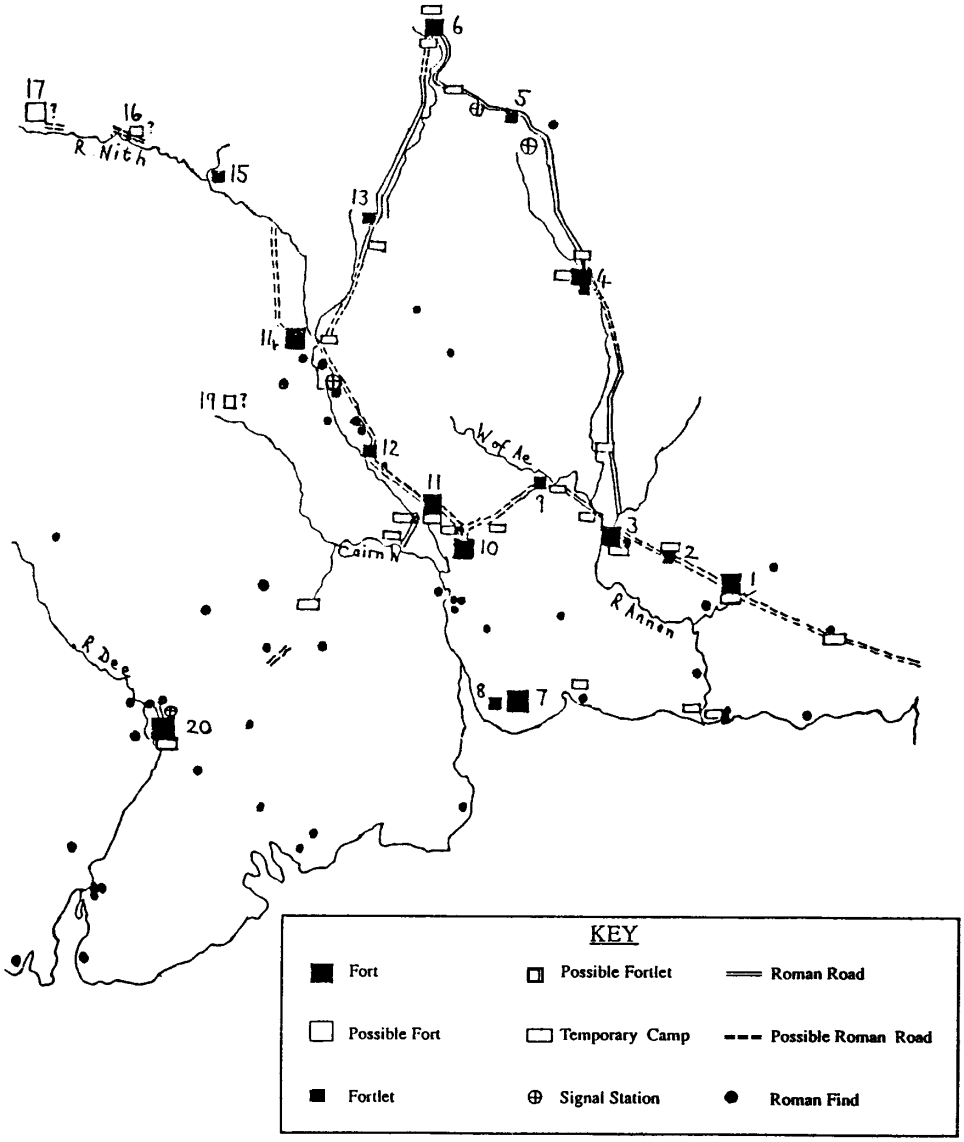

Fig. 1b : Key to numbered sites:
1 Birrens; 2 Burnswark; 3 Lochmaben; 4 Milton; 5 Redshaw Burn; 6 Crawford; 7 Ward Law; 8 Lantonside; 9 Shieldhill; 10 Carzield; 11 Dalswinton; 12 Barburgh Mill; 13 Durisdeer; 14 Drumlanrig; 15 Sanquhar; 16 Kirkconnel; 17 Street; 19 Moniaive; 20 Glenlochar.

Conclusion

A possible pattern has been outlined for Roman penetration in West Dumfries and Galloway. It should be borne in mind, however, that the initial occupation of Agricola may differ from later periods in both intent and extent with potential variation in pattern. The incidence of known Roman fortlets of Antonine date in Annandale, Clydesdale and Nithsdale is significant for that pattern of occupation as is the shift of major site from Dalswinton to Carzield in Nithsdale and Barochan to Whitemoss in the approaches to the Clyde. Perhaps other changes of site during the Roman occupation may be expected. It is hoped that the pattern suggested will stimulate further research into a significantly missing piece of the jigsaw of Roman Britain.

Acknowledgements

I am particularly grateful to Gordon Maxwell, Lawrence Keppie and Professor St. Joseph for their help and advice in preparing this article but the responsibility for any views expressed in this article is solely mine.

Abbreviations

AA4	Archaeologia Aeliana fourth series
AHCAW	Archaeological and Historical Collections Relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigtown
CAANHS	Collections of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
DAES	Discovery and Excavation, Scotland
GAJ	Glasgow Archaeological Journal
NSA	New Statistical Account of Scotland
OMR	Old Military Road
OSA	Old Statistical Account of Scotland
PSAS	Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
TDGS	Transactions of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

ST. NINIAN AND THE SOUTHERN PICTS

SPECULATIONS AS TO TOPOGRAPHY AND PERSONNEL

by Daphne Brooke

The current excavation at Whithorn is giving rise to fresh consideration of the literary sources relating to St. Ninian. Recent studies of the early Christian period imply that his ministry to the southern Picts was located south of the Antonine Wall. An old suggestion that Cathures may be identified as Cadder has been revived (Macquarrie 1988 p. 15n) and it is generally accepted that the parish of St. Ninian's, Stirling, may represent an authentic commemoration. This paper attempts to put together a coherent hypothesis by addressing four questions : one, where was Cathures; two, what is the meaning of the allusion to Nynnyaw and Peibyaw 'one on the far side of Mynydd Bannawg and one on the near side'; three, what was the relevance of St. Cadog's monastery 'this side of Mount Bannog'; and four, who and where were the southern Picts? A fifth question arises from consideration of these four : who was the Pictish chief who accepted baptism for himself and his people? Four appendices summarise the literary reference to Cathures (A) and to St. Cadog in Scotland (D), and discuss the ecles- place-names (B) and the development of the name Nynia-Ninian (C).

At best the answers to all five questions are speculative, and they can provide only half the picture of the early Pictish church. More needs to be known before the extent of Nynia's ministry and the relationship between the Pictish church and Candida Casa can be traced.

A recent reappraisal of the *De Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas implies that Nynia evangelised between the Roman Walls rather than further north (Miller 1975; Dumville and Lapidge 1984). The existence of an early Christian church in southern Scotland, probably with a diocesan structure had already been demonstrated (Thomas 1968). Its centres have been identified, not only by Christian memorial stones, but by the distribution of the ecles- place-names (Cameron 1968; Barrow 1983).

The *Excidio* describes how the Picts overran the region south of the Antonine Wall some time between the departure of the Roman garrisons from Britain (c. 410), and the Britons' appeal to Aetius (446 AD)[1]. The British recovered this territory in a series of campaigns against both Pict and Angle, culminating in the battle of Mount Badon c. 500 AD. Thereafter according to Gildas, the British kingdoms enjoyed fifty years peace and prosperity (Dumville : 1984). The possibility that the southern Picts were Christianised concurrently with their progressive defeat and withdrawal was proposed in 1984:

1. The distribution of Pit-, Pet- place-names, Pictish symbol stones, and Pictish silver chains in southern Scotland as mapped (Thomas 1981 p. 289) supports the implications of the *Excidio*.

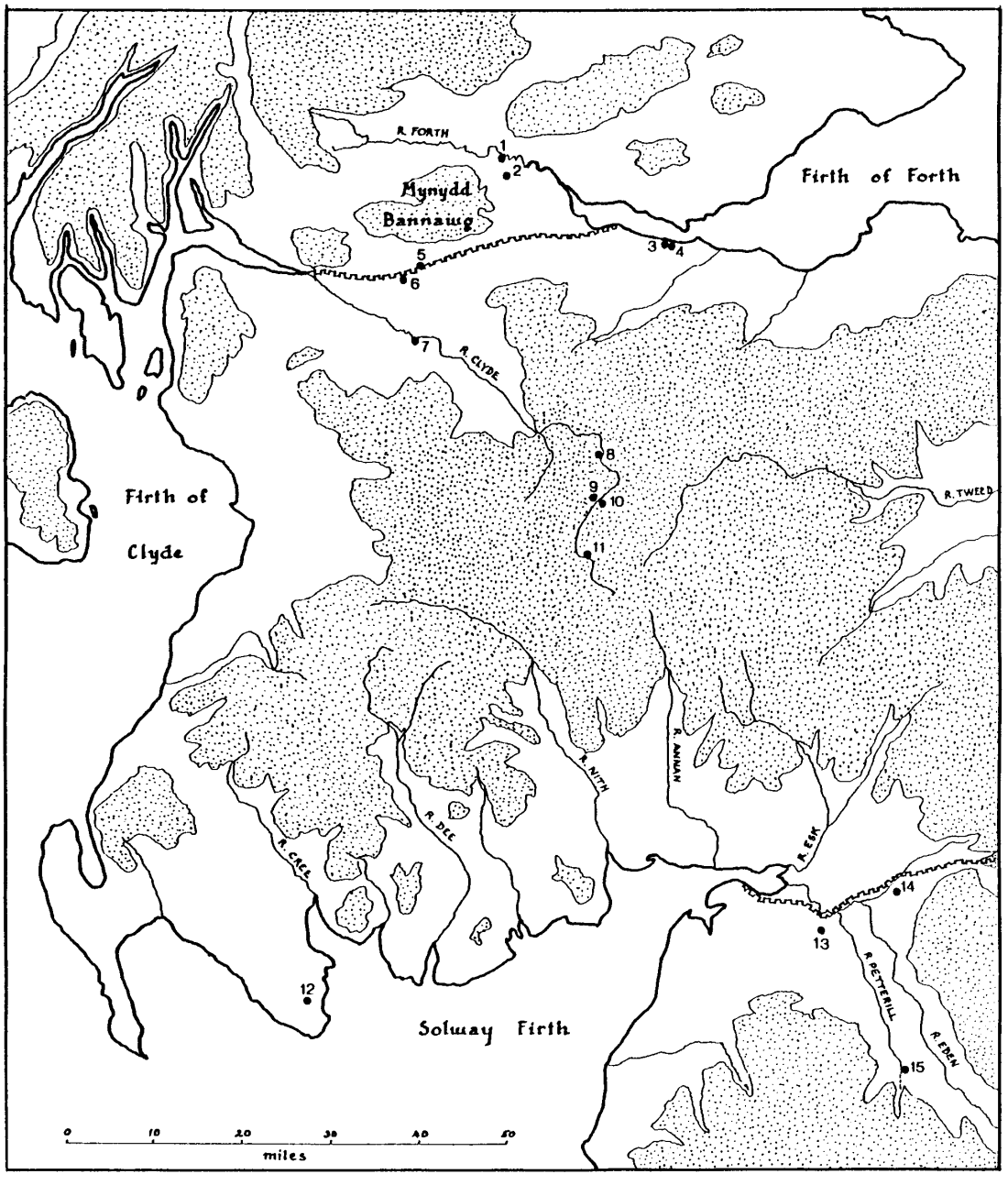

Figure 1. Map of area covered in the text, including Hadrian's and the Antonine Walls. Land over 600 feet is stippled.
Key to sites :

1 Stirling 2 Eccles 3 Abercorn 4 Hopetoun 5 Kirkintilloch 6 Cadder 7 Cambuslang 8 Covington 9 Wiston 10 Lamington 11 Crawford 12 Whithorn 13 Carlisle 14 Brampton 15 Brougham.

'by the seventh century the southern Picts who may have claimed they had received Christianity from the Briton Nynia *multo ante tempore* (in the fifth century) may have done so in much this area — West Lothian and part of Stirlingshire. They could have occupied this territory . . . in the fifth century in the aftermath of the "Northern Wars" which modern scholarship would extract from Claudian's poem on Stilicho's exploits and Gildas' retrospective northern history' (Thomas 1984 pp. 287-88).

Since then the fifth-century date traditionally ascribed to St. Nynia has been challenged in favour of a sixth-century floruit (Macquarrie 1988). This leaves the period of Nynia's ministry still a matter of controversy[2]; and its final determination may have to await more certainty as to the events of Nynia's career, and where they took place[3].

The intermediate stages between the fifty years' peace and the rise to power of the Anglian kingdom of Bernicia can be inferred mainly from Welsh literary sources (Williams 1968; Jackson 1969). The British kingdoms of the north appear to have emerged out of a less centralised tribal society, in response to the Northern Wars. Their warbands, small brilliant courts, heroic ethic, and their love of luxuries — jewelry, silk, wine, and fine horses — are evoked by the poetry of the bards. They sang to the feasting warriors, reclining like Romans at their lord's table.

This aristocracy was Christian. Their leaders were hailed in panegiric as protectors of Christendom against the pagan. By the late sixth century when the events described took place, the pagans were the Angles of Bernicia, not the Picts. When a battle against the men of Prydyn (the Picts) ended with the Picts' defeat, 'they made peace . . . with hand on the cross' (Watson 1926 p. 344).

The most explicit record of Nynia in action 'long before' is the reference in the twelfth-century *Life of St. Kentigern* by Jocelin of Furness to a burial ground Nynia had consecrated at Cathures. This and other literary sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, most of them based on earlier material, encapsulate memories of the church's growth between the Roman Walls, from a campaign against paganism to the development of monastic communities.

The Literary Evidence : Cathures

The reference to Cathures in Chapter ix of Jocelin's *Life of St. Kentigern* is summarised in Appendix A. The story is full of allusion and symbol, some of which Jocelin himself misunderstood. The burial ground consecrated by St. Nynia cannot be one of Jocelin's many manipulations of his story to boost the prestige of St. Kentigern. It must represent part of his source material, and perhaps a popular memory that could not be suppressed. The story that it had been consecrated and then left unused seems forced. The ark of the Lord had been laid in a new wain drawn by milch cows 'on which there hath come no yoke'. The new wain, the bulls (not previously yoked), and the grave in an unused burial ground conform to a pattern. They are a triad of 'firsts'. This motif, introduced by the biblical allusion, provides meaning where Jocelin failed to see the true significance.

2. Professor Macqueen has recently told me in correspondence that he inclines towards an early fifth-century date.
3. Patrick's expression 'apostate Picts' is too ambiguous to provide any firm foundation for chronology.

The Location of Cathures

Jocelin discloses the continuity of the foundation at Cathures in spite of himself, when after the funeral we are told that Kentigern 'dwelt in the same place with two brothers who had inhabited (it) before his arrival' and framed his life 'in much sanctity'. In effect by the sixth century a rudimentary monastic community was developing there.

The words qualifying Cathures *'que nunc vocatur Glasgu'* look like a gloss, and are contradicted later. When Kentigern is raised to the rank of bishop, we are told, he moves to Glasgow and founds a monastery there. Assuming Cathures was in Strathclyde however, the route via Cairnoch may have been merely a literary convention to bring Fergus into the story. Kernach is presented as a village where Fergus lived, following some sort of religious discipline — either in a hermitage or a small monastic community.

Three place-names in a relatively narrow radius might correspond to Kernach:

a) the parish of Carnock in Fife
b) the estate of Carnock in the parish of St. Ninians, Stirling.
c) Cairnoch on the river Carron in the north of Kilsyth parish, an identification suggested by Professor Barrow (Macquarrie 1988 p. 14n).

Option a) is the wrong side of the Forth; b) has traditionally been accepted, but it has not led to further elucidation. So let us consider c).

The farm-name Cairnoch still appears on Ordnance Survey maps against a ruined homestead on the northern shore of the Carron Valley Reservoir. The Carron valley before the reservoir was built is vividly described (Groome vol. I p. 243). It was subject to winter flooding, but in summer provided rich pasture and an abundance of hay. Any identification of this district with Kernach presupposes that Kentigern travelled (in summer) up the course of the Carron. A mile from Cairnoch lies the site of a chapel, Kirk of Muir, that in the Middle Ages was a pendicle of the mother church of St. Ninian's, Stirling (Cowan 1967 p. 123). The adjoining farm and hill is called Craigannet (Gaelic *creag annaide* — rock of the mother church). The Gaelic name sets a limit on how early the place was named and there is no proof that Cairnoch was a sixth-century Christian site. The association with Fregus suggests an eighth-century or later date (see Appendix A).

The Place-Name Cathures

The place-name Cathures, preceded in the Latin text by the preposition *'ad'* would have been an accusative, and bears every appearance of an accusative plural of the third declension. The second vowel may have been miscopied.[4] The Brittonic cader (seat, stronghold) corresponds to the Gaelic *cathair*, earlier *cathir*.

Cadder was almost certainly recorded in a Gaelicised form c. 1120. One of the mensal churches of the old episcopal see of Cumbria (Strathclyde) listed by the Inquest of c. 1120 — Camcar — has not been identified; and this suggests an error in transcription. By the alteration of one letter, and reading c for t, Camcar becomes Cahtar. Lawrie noted that Cadder was suggested a century ago, but he discounted it on the grounds that the mother church of Cadder and its pendicle Badermonoc, were granted to the bishop's mensa by Malcolm IV 1153x1164 (*Reg Epis Glas* 26) (*ESC*). The objection is not strong. The bishops

4. Alternatively 'res may be a distinct second element corresponding to the Brittonic rid- ford- which can take that form (Padel 1985 p. 197). The Kelvin was fordable at Cadder.

of Glasgow did not manage to retain all the churches listed in c. 1120, and Malcolm IV admitted some encroachment on the mensal estates both by his grandfather and himself in a charter shortly before his death (*RRSi* no. 265). There is no bar to the identification of 'Cahtar' as Cadder.

The site of a Roman fort, a Roman bath-house, and a contemporaneous civilian settlement, Cadder is a place where an early Christian cemetery might be expected. It lies some fifteen to twenty miles south of Cairnoch — a long way to go with a wain harnessed to two bulls, but there is no reason to suppose such a journey was ever made. If there was such a procession, it may be assumed to have happened near Cadder. The eighth-century cleric 'Fregus' can have had no part in it.

Out of no less than twenty-one forts along the Antonine Wall, Cadder is the only one to retain the simplex name Cader (1166x70 *RRS* Wi), which argues that it retained some unique importance in the sub-Roman period. That the Brittonic form of the name has survived does not necessarily invalidate the identification with the gaelicised Cathures since the source for this part of Jocelin's *Vita* has been traced to a Gaelic-speaking milieu (Jackson 1958 p. 277-279). The form Cahtar, if it is correctly identified, shows the same influence.

If we are to take Cathures as plural, implying more than one fort, the neighbouring fort along the Antonine Wall was presumably included. This brings us, without forcing the evidence to Kirkintilloch (the Caerpentaloch of Nennius) where the medieval parish church was under the invocation of St. Ninian (1451 *Reg Epis Glas*). The suggestion that St. Nynia continued to be honoured in the vicinity of the old mother church of Cadder is difficult to ignore, and a fair traditionally held at Kirkintilloch 'about Martinmas' (*OSA*) offers some support, bearing in mind the close association of St. Martin with *Candida Casa*.

Kirkintilloch had a further significance in the present context. A fragment of a relief depicting a bull's head was found at the Peel of Kirkintilloch in the nineteenth century (Macdonald 1924 p. 294-95) and subsequently destroyed. This may have been a Roman carving but that is not certain.[5] Both the Romans and the Picts culted the bull, and pagan associations with fertility rites give point to the *tauros indomitos* yoked to St. Kentigern's wain.[6] The symbolism that Jocelin failed to recognise, was rooted in the pagan perception of the bull in its strength and potency as an aspect of deity — and in the meaning of the yoke.

The harnessing of entire bulls (or stags) as draught animals is a motif repeated in a number of Welsh and Irish *Vitae*. By a process of literary borrowing the original significance is often blurred; but here the detail and topography make the meaning exceptionally clear. The funeral cortege of Fregus was a public demonstration that the power of the bull could be brought down and put to the service of the true God in taking the body for Christian burial. More than this, the yoke is Christianity itself. 'Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for my yoke is easy. my burden is light' (Matthew ix 29). The Christian church transformed the yoke, a symbol of shame to the Romans, into a token of grace. The 'very many accompanying' Kentigern were relevant here. What is recorded was a public act.

5. I am grateful to Dr. Gordon Maxwell of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland for the advice that the fragment with the bull's head may have been part of a Roman monumental carving depicting the *suovetaurilia*. or even an altar dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, though it may not have been Roman at all. That is unimportant in the present context.

6. The procession echoes the pagan fertility rite described by Pliny when 'two white bulls whose horns had never been bound' were sacrificed. Another account says 'the dedication of the bull was a high solemnity. He was led in procession at the head of which went the chief priest and priestess of the city. With them went a sacrificer and two bands of youths and maidens . . . longing for fertility, for food, for children, focuses round the bull' (McNeill 1959 vol. iv p. 73).

That it should have taken place along the Antonine Wall, and especially in the neighbourhood of Cadder and Kirkintilloch is very much to the point, for numerous pagan altars between Kilsyth and Auchendavy, honoured no less than eleven deities (Robertson 1977 p. 72). The demonstration was only meaningful so long as the Christian church was engaged in its initial offensive against paganism, and it leads me to wonder whether the story was originally told, not about Kentigern, but about Nynia. If instead of looking back to the consecration of the burial ground, it led up to it.

At Cadder the meaning of the two bulls yoked to a wain becomes clear. So does the meaning of the two oxen separated by Mynydd Bannawg that have to be yoked together. In the folk story Culhwch and Olwen, the hero is called upon to perform a series of apparently impossible feats: 'there are two horned oxen, one on the far side of Mynydd Bannawg and one on the near side; I want them yoked under one harness. They are Nynnyaw and Peibyaw, and God turned then into oxen because of their sins' (*Mabinogion* p. 155). The oxen were presumably two celibates, churchmen. We glimpse two clerics, their pastorate lying either side of Mynydd Bannawg, and one of them was Nynia. Nynnaw and Peibyaw appear in the pedigree of St. Dubricius in the Book of Llandaff as uncle and nephew.[7] As Plebia, Peibyaw figures in Ailred of Rievaulx' Life of St. Ninian as Nynia's brother, though whether his canonical brother or a sibling is not stated (Forbes 1874).

Mynydd Bannawg has been identified as Campsie Fells (Watson 1926 p. 196) or more precisely as the Fintry, Kilsyth, Campsie and Kilpatrick hills (Jackson 1969 p. 10). The identification is amply supported by thirteenth-century charters.[8] Cathures lay therefore, at the very foot of Mynydd Bannawg on the south-western side, diagonally in line with St. Ninian's, Stirling on the north-east.

Jocelin's source and the folklore preserved in the *Mabinogion* are in agreement. Like others of its kind, Jocelin's *Vita* incorporates several chronological layers : Strathclyde's period of power in the tenth century and the part played by the cult of St. Kentigern in unifying its extended episcopal see; the time of Fregus, the eighth century; the career of Kentigern himself in the sixth (*ob* 612). But the bulls and the cart suggest a period earlier still, when north of Hadrian's Wall the Christian church was coming into being; and paganism was a force to be defeated. The figurative presentation of this material suggests it was transmitted in poetry or song.

Eccles

The significance of the place-name element ecles in the development of the Christian church in southern Scotland is summarised in Appendix B. Eccles at Stirling is of first importance for our purpose, and will be referred to henceforward as 'Ecles' without qualification. Before the establishment in the twelfth century of the burgh church and the chapel in Stirling Castle, it was the sole church attaching to the stronghold of Stirling. The place-name Eccles suggests an early date for the foundation of this important mother

7. No trace of Peibio's name survives in the north. He has been localised in Wales. the Book of Llandaff represents him as the son of Erb, King of Archenfield and grandfather of St. Dubricius. (Evans and Rhys).

8. Mill of Bannoc 1215 Cambuskenneth; Utred Banoc (higher Bannog) 1215 Cambuskenneth; Uchterbannoc 1261 Dunfermline; Westirbannoc 1373-74 RMS i 759; Ochtirbannoke 1373-74 RMS i 464.

church, whose *parochia* at one time embraced Stirling itself as well as surrounding villages. This suggestion is strengthened by the use during the medieval period of the name Kirkton for the parish, as though it were the "Kirkton" par excellence (Barrow (ed) ***RRS*** Wi p. 145).[9].

The reasons for thinking that Eccles represented Nynia's episcopal centre on the far side of Mynydd Bannawg are persuasive, and it seems likely that it was here in a later generation that a religious community was established. The patron saint at Eccles first appears in documents in 1208x14 as *Kyrctoun Niniani* (*Reg Epis Glas* 103). Hence it became in common usage, 'St. Ninian's'.

Commemorations and Dedications

Much has been written about church dedications, but the distinction is not often made between dedication — a ceremonial act by the ecclesiastical establishment, sparingly used in the early Christian centuries — and a popular process of naming a church, or a well, after a saint. This took place locally over the years, having the vernacular authenticity of a place-name. There has been debate whether *Candida Casa* could have been formally dedicated to St. Martin as early as the fifth century (Chadwick 1950 pp. 9-53); but it could have come to be known as 'St. Martins' (*Tig Mhartain*, as the Irish called it) because St. Martin was venerated and his feast-day celebrated there. Perhaps that is what Bede's curious wording signified.[10] In the later Middle Ages the Cathedral church of Whithorn remained formally St. Martin's in Papal documents, but it became popularly known as St. Ninian's or St. Ringan's.

Eccles almost certainly acquired the name St. Ninian's in much the same way — by popular consensus. What remains in doubt is when this happened. Had it been St. Nynia's time out of mind, from within a generation or so of its foundation, while its founder was still remembered? Or did it come by the name once the identity of the founder was forgotten and St. Ninian, the most ancient popular saint of the later Middle Ages, was assumed to be the patron? By the late twelfth century St. Ninian was widely known from the *Vita S. Niniani* by Ailred of Rievaulx, written before 1167. Historians are inclined to accept the simplex place-name Eccles and the commemoration of St. Ninians at face value. Eccles has been called 'the one dedication to St. Ninian likely to be ancient' (Duncan 1975 p. 39). Any doubts have been mainly linguistic, and these are discussed in Appendix C.

The popularity of St. Ninian's cult from the twelfth century until the Reformation produced a host of churches, chapels, and altars dedicated to St. Ninian. Many of the sixty-odd churches listed by Forbes, for example, are in northern Scotland, where the thirteenth-century daughter house of Whithorn Priory — New Fearns — may have been responsible for stimulating the cult.

These are, however, indistinguishable from genuinely ancient commemorations. The modification of form and pronunciation at some date between the ninth and twelfth century (from Nynia to Ninian) could be evidence of continuity. In addition to Eccles, we need to look at the parish church of Penninghame near Whithorn, the chapel of St. Ninian

9. Reference occurs in the Irish Life of Monenna by Conchubranus to the place Eclees, which can be identified with Eccles, Stirling (*Royal Irish Academy* xxviii. 1910. Sec C 234).

10. *'cuius sedem episcopatus Sancti Martini episcopi nomini et ecclesia insignem.'* Discussed Chadwick 1950 p. 16.

'near the castle of Ardstinchar' in Carrick, and St. Ninian's chapel, Whitby. Four dedications in the upper Clyde valley — at Stonehouse, Covington, Wiston, and Lamington — must reluctantly be dismissed.

At first sight the ancient mother churches of Quendal and Abercarf, whose estates were carved up in the twelfth century to infeft a bunch of Flemish knights, might have preserved a memory of St. Nynia. The district lies close to the junction of the Roman roads that ran northward up Nithsdale and Annandale — the route from Galloway to the Antonine Wall. It is just possible that these commemorations were genuinely ancient, but the documentation in the sixteenth and seventeenth century of a number of crofts belonging to the Knights of St. John, suggests that the dedications to St. Ninian reflect the medieval pilgrim's route to Whithorn, punctuated by hospices established along the way by the Hospitallers *(Retours Lanark)*.

Some Cumbrian dedications need closer scrutiny but are only marginally relevant to this paper.[11] The parish church of Penninghame, within part of the medieval bishops' estate, can be inferred to commemorate St. Ninian from an inscribed bell (probably sixteenth-century) (Symson 1692). There is also a St. Ninian's Well on the side of the pilgrim's route to Whithorn. Though the topography is confused, the well may be the one at which Ailred relates two lepers were healed; but although Ailred mentions the well, the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* does not (Macqueen 1962). There the lepers are healed at the tomb of St. Nynia. The evidence is insufficient to put a date on the invocations, and the probability is that they reflect the later medieval cult.

The same is probably true of the chapel mentioned in a Papal letter of 1497 agreeing to relaxations of five years and five quarantines for all those of the faithful 'who, being penitent and having confessed, visit on the feasts of St. Ninian and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist . . . the chapel of St. Ninian in the parish of Colmanel near the Castle of Ardstinchar . . . and give alms for the conservation of its buildings, the better supply of books, chalices, and other ecclesiastical ornaments' *(CPL vii)*. The Kennedy family's Castle of Ardstinchar lay on the Carrick coast some distance off the pilgrim's route to Whithorn from the west, and in the heart of a district of long Cumbrian survival, but there is no evidence to support an early commemoration here.

The dedication of the chapel in Stirling Castle implies a different story. The Register of Dunfermline Abbey records : 'the King's barons held it proved that on the day on which King Alexander (Alexander I) caused the chapel to be dedicated' he conferred upon the chaplaincy and upon the landholders on his demesne of Stirling certain specified rights (1147x1140 *ESC* clxxxii). We have reasonably clear evidence that the chapel in Stirling Castle, which is documented in 1452 as St. Rynnanis Chapel, was dedicated to St. Ninian before 1124. The importance of this is that the dedication at that time was very unlikely to have been influenced from Whithorn.

Alexander I's writ ran in Galloway only insofar as his brother David Prince of Cumbria could put pressure upon its ruling princes, and it was not until after David was king of

11. At Broughham Nynekyurkes (recorded 1583) and St. Ninian's bell : at Brampton the parish church was dedicated to St. Martin and St. Martin's Oak was recorded 1603 : an old church of St. Ninian (1169 *Wetheral Reg*) : and Ninewells recorded 1704 (Graham and Collingwood 1924 p. 18). If these commemorations date from the early Christian period, they pose questions about Nynia's relationship with Carlisle. A group of dedications to St. Martin in Eskdale is relevant in this context (Wilson 1968 p. 132). A St. Ninian's chapel and St. Ringan's Well at Loweswater may have originated when the chapel was consecrated by the bishop of Whithorn in 1281 (*Fabric Roll, York*).

Scots that there was any evidence that he was able to do so. Whithorn was virtually beyond the bounds of the kingdom of Scots, its bishopric in prolonged vacancy. The influential *Vita S. Niniani* by Ailred of Rievaulx was not written until at least thirty-five years later. The devotion to St. Nynia that led to the dedication of the chapel, must have derived not from Whithorn, but from a living cult in Stirling itself. Eccles had been a mother church in the sparsely recorded centuries that preceded the Anglo-Norman era, with pendicles at Dunipace, Larbert, Gargunnock, and Kirk of Muir.

If St. Nynia was honoured there before 1124 the local cult was very old indeed. From Eccles, viewed as the centre of Nynia's *paruchia* in Pictish territory, three other sites fan out : the two Ecclesmarten at Strathmiglo and Aberdour, Fife, and Abercorn where in the grounds of Hopetoun House there remain traces of a Nynewell.[12]

The British place-name Abercorn (*Aebbircurnig* c 720 Bede) and the Northumbrian church's tendency to take over and develop British monasteries — for example Melrose and Whithorn — suggest that the Northumbrian episcopal see of Abercorn replaced an earlier church centre (Thomas : Abercorn : 1984 p 329-30). The Picts having recovered Abercorn, its estates south of the Forth eventually passed into the possession of the church of Dunkeld.[13] As late as 1170 the ownership was disputed between the lord of the manor of Abercorn and the bishop of Dunkeld (*Vitae Dunkeldensis Episcoporum).* [14] By 1460 the whole barony of Aberlady was held to belong to the bishop.

The inclusion of St. Ninia (in that form) in the Litany of Dunkeld argues that St. Nynia continued to be honoured in the Pictish church, and later when the church of Dunkeld became the ecclesiastical centre of the united kingdom of Scots. By the tenth century unofficial primacy passed to St. Andrews.

It has been urged that the authenticity of a commemoration cannot be established unless it can be shown to be older than the eighth century (Macqueen 1961 p. 70). The fame produced by Bede's chapter iv, the *Hymnus* and *Miracula* composed at Whithorn, and the pilgrim traffic that the *Miracula* reports, suggest that St. Nynia became so popular both in the Northumbrian (and presumably) the Pictish church, that it might be expected that churches would have been dedicated to him at this period. But churches in south-west Scotland which can be traced to Northumbrian foundations honour St. Andrew, St. Oswald the Martyr, and St. Cuthbert (Brooke 1990). Within the Pictish church the influence of Northumbria led to the invocation of the apostles Peter and Andrew. No eighth-century dedication to St. Nynia in known.

St. Cadog

Memories of the early church in the north are embedded in the *Vita S. Cadoci* (St. Cadog of Llancarfan) by Llifris. It was written around 1100, but draws upon older material. Two passages treat of St. Cadog in Scotland and of a monastery 'this side of Mount Bannog'. On dubious evidence Cambuslang has been taken to be the site.

12. I would like to thank Professor Thomas for his help in correspondence : his information came orally from the late Marquis of Linlithgow. My thanks go also to Mr Seligman, factor to the Hopetoun estate, who told me by letter dated 2nd November, 1989, that an estate plan of 1759 contains a field-name 'Nynewells field'.

13. Just when this took place is uncertain. Dunkeld became ecclesiastically paramount in the mid-ninth century, which argues the church was older. Abercorn ('Eovercorn to the western district of Edinburgh') was still claimed for Lindisfarne by Symeon of Durham, but gloss may be in error : the eighth-century spelling was Aebbircurnig (Bede : *HE*). Once the Northumbrian supremacy failed, the Pictish church, already shaped by Iona, was absorbed into the Columban church centring on Dunkeld (Bannerman 1975 p. 15).

14. The Litany of Dunkeld has been held to be a forgery, but the form 'Ninia' suggests a genuinely early source.

Medieval calendars record two different feast days honouring a St. Cadog and a third (Breton) saint of similar name. Confusion is further increased by the different pedigrees attributed to St. Cadog. Llifris traces the descent of Cadog of Llancarfan from Maximus (a northern line), while the twelfth-century genealogy, *Bonedd y Saint*, shows him as descended from Cadell (Wade Evans 1944 p. 321). The name Cadoc (*Catwg*) has several forms. It is apparently a diminutive of Cadfael (*Cathmail* in Ireland where according to Llifris St. Cadog spent three years). Whether it can also take the Breton form, *Cadfoddw*, may be more doubtful.[15]

Watson identified as Cadog the St. Dwg, Doc, Dog, traceable in Menteith, where the cult gave rise to the surname Doig (Watson 1926 pp. 195, 327: and 1927). The Irish *Leabhar Breac* listed Madoc the pilgrim as one of the sons of Channtoin, a British chief (*rig Bretan*); and *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae*, believed to date from the eighth or ninth century, described how St. David, St. Gildas and St. Docus gave a mass to the second order of saints (C. Brooke 1964 p. 297-8).

The identity of a northern Cadog and St. Cadog of Llancarfan became inextricably tangled by the time Llifis was writing. More than the different feast-days, the variant pedigrees suggest different persons, but how far genealogies can be trusted is dubious. To assume distinct identities for the northern Cadog, Cadog of Llancarfan, and the Breton Cadfoddw, is almost unassailable (Farmer 1987 p. 67). Along with it goes the proposition that Llifris or one of his sources, incorporated material relating to the northern Cadog or Doc. But it leaves unexplained the spread of the cult of St. Cadog along the western sea-lanes to the Brittonic provinces of the north, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, a familiar feature of British culture affecting other saints like St. Brioc and St. Machutus.

The tangle is aggravated by the apparent existence of two cult centres for St. Cadog in Scotland : one believed to be Cambuslang (Strathclyde) and the other in undeniably Pictish territory in Menteith (Watson 1926 p. 327). I shall suggest that these originated at different times, and that the cult reflected in the place-names Kilmadock, St. Maddoes, Dog Island in the Lake of Menteith, and Dog Well in Linlithgow (*OSA*), is the earlier. These commemorations relate to a churchman, whether Briton or Pict, whose charge lay within the Pictish church, and not the church of Strathclyde. Another British churchman appears to have been involved here too. As late as 1267 Kilmadock was called Eglysdissentyn (Fraser 1880 ii 217). The saint's name has been identified as Iestyn (Barrow), another saint culted in Wales, and said to have been Breton-born (Farmer 1987 p. 246).

Forbes claimed that St. Machan was a disciple of St. Cadog. St. Machan is commemorated at Ecclesmachan near Linlithgow, and at Campsie where he was buried (*Brev. Aberdeen.*). The *Vita* of Llifris mentions a Bachan who was a teacher of St. Cadog. The incorporation of his name in the place-name Ecclesmachan suggests an early date.[16]

The Location of the Monastery

Appendix C quotes two passages from the *Life of St. Cadog* by Llifris. We may assume that these two accounts refer to the same monastery. The proximity to Lothian gives no

15. Authorities for the multitude of forms of Cadog's name include W. J. Watson (1926), Nora Chadwick (1953), C. Brooke (1964) and D. H. Farmer (1987).

16. Canon Doble identified Machan with the Cornish Maughan, whose commemorations in Cornwall lie near St. Cadog's (Gilbert Doble : *Saints of Cornwall* Part iv p. 65).

certainty whether the events described took place in Stirlingshire or Strathclyde. The only topographical detail Llifris gives of its whereabouts was that it lay near a certain fort (*urbs*) 'on this side Mount Bannog'. [17] Depending which side of Mount Bannog one stood, this could apply either to Cadder or some other place in the Clyde valley, or to Eccles.

A will made in 1553 in Cambuslang instructing executors to lay the testator's body 'with the dust of St. Cadog, my patron saint' has been taken as signifying the monastery had been in Cambuslang. Watson pointed out that Cambuslang lies at the highest navigable point on the Clyde for small vessels, so it might represent a point of arrival or departure. A parish church of Cambuslang was recorded c 1275 (*SHS* Misc vi) but there is no trace of an early church or monastery there.

The unsupported evidence of a sixteenth-century will does not establish the existence of an early monastery at Cambuslang. Robert Brown may have intended to be buried anywhere within a ten-mile radius, and this would include Lesmahagow.[19] The will has however important implications. First, Robert Brown refers to St. Cadog as 'my patron saint' which indicates either that a St. Cadog was honoured locally in the sixteenth century, or that Robert Brown came originally from Menteith. More important the will implied the existence of relics, all the more interesting because Llancarfan had none.

Llifris' Life of St. Cadog gives sufficient testimony to Llancarfan's embarrassment on this account. The measure of it is the far-fetched story of Cadog's journey to Benevento, of which different versions appear in the *Vitae* of Llifris and Caradoc. The story that not Cadog but Kentigern founded Llancarfan is another solution that shows what shifts the monks of Llancarfan were driven to. Llancarfan's lack of relics in the late eleventh century may have come about because the Welsh monks hid them before the Anglo-Norman diocese of Gloucester took control. This has sometimes been suggested. Alternatively the need to hide the relics may have occurred earlier, under Viking threat.

In either case Strathclyde would not be an improbable refuge. The late Molly Miller posited that the cult of St. Kentigern came to Clynnog Fawr in the ninth century as part of the cultural luggage of the Strathclyde aristocracy who settled in Gwynnedd (Miller 1978 p. 11). Mrs Chadwick was concerned with the preservation of north British material at Llancarfan (Chadwick 1953). There cannot be much doubt that Welsh monasteries were in contact with the kingdom of Strathclyde in the antiquarian activity of the ninth century; and the preservation of relics was as important to both as the transmission of historical material.

By then Strathclyde had become the sole repository of British tradition in the north. Baldred of Tyninghame had collected material relating to St. Kentigern, probably originally a churchman of Gododdin, and the extent to which Strathclyde, and later the diocese of Glasgow were indebted to him in promoting the cult is incalculable. What was transmitted to Wales from Strathclyde was not, however, all from the same source, and the diversity of sources may account for the ambivalent and contradictory character of Welsh tradition as embodied in the *Mabinogion* and such writings as Llifris' *Vita*.

17. *Urbs* may be translated both fort or monastery, but it may also imply an economic and tribal centre. For a useful discussion of this meaning of *urbs* see Aliga-Kelly. Cadog had to build the monastery, so '*urbs*' would be compatible with a tribal capital such as Stirling.

19. The British name and dedication to a Brittonic saint — Machutus of St. Malo — at Lesmahagow suggests an older ecclesiastical centre preceded the medieval monastery, supposedly founded 1144 under the Tironensian Order. Welsh tradition held that Machutus trained at Llancarfan under St. Cadog. As a refuge for the relics of St. Cadog, Lesmahagow would be a possibility.

As Nora Chadwick commented, Arthur appears now rogue, now hero; Caw sometimes as a great chief, and the true hero of the boar hunt for *Twrch Twyth*, sometimes a terrorist and bogey-man (Chadwick 1953 p. 129-131). (He or a namesake was also remembered as the father of St. Gildas and the progenitor of a saintly kindred.) Nynnyaw the bishop and his colleague Peibyaw are held up to ridicule and turned into oxen 'for their sins'. Topographical detail is equally ambiguous. Cadog's monastery is 'this side of Mount Bannog', which in the terminology of Strathclyde means in British territory, not Pictish. Yet the colossal bones that Cadog unearths while laying its foundations hint that he was in the Carse of Stirling, where the skeletons of whales of the early post-glacial period have been found (Ritchie and Ritchie 1972 p. 11).[20] Places identifiable with the churches of Eccles and Cadder appear and change places as if on a roundabout. St. Nynia himself seemed to be honoured at both.

There is more here than the confusions consequent on long and partly oral transmission. In Strathclyde, Caw the Pict was remembered as a defeated but terrifying raider. The Picts remembered him as a great chief and a great hunter. Nynia, honoured at Eccles and Abercorn was depreciated as a rival by the medieval church of Strathclyde. The Scots having suppressed Pictish culture in the ninth century, gaelicised Strathclyde in the eleventh. The snatches of northern Brittonic lore traceable in Welsh medieval literature were gleaned from a diversity of places and people over a long time. They were shaped, not only by ancient enmities, but by the later clash of interest between one monastery or episcopal see and another. Yet despite this complexity and the predominantly British process of transmission and preservation, Pictish memories were not wholly suppressed. It is possible that the Culdee community at Kilrymont transmitted Pictish material to Llancarfan as late as the eleventh century.

The conflicting statements about Mount Bannog now become comprehensible. When Caw spoke of reigning beyond Mount Bannog words were put into his mouth from the British perspective. The elegant monastery of stone on 'this side of Mount Bannog' on the other hand, if viewed from a Pictish milieu, would mean on the east side — at Eccles. Even the insistence on the use of stone as a building material supports this location, since the Stirling area was well supplied both with the raw material and Roman dressed stone. It is possible too that the influences that induced Nynia to build a stone church at *Candida Casa* can be seen here. Nevertheless it must in honesty be borne in mind that the stone building may be a later interpolated memory of the Picts' use of stone for ecclesiastical building under the influence of Northumbrian Jarrow.

Despite the juggling with time represented by the resuscitation of Caw, the resuscitation itself seems to symbolise the death and resurrection in baptism of the Pictish people. If the cult of St. Doc in Menteith and his alleged disciple Machan, commemorated at Campsie and Ecclesmachan, are to be related to the monastery described by Llifris, then it is as colleagues within the *paruchia* of Eccles that we must regard them, founding a religious community round the original church. The introduction into the *Vita*'s story of the ecclesiastical order of fossor suggests a very early period, comparable with the chronology suggested by the place-names Eccles and Ecclesmachan.

20. There is a Caw Burn in Kirkliston *(OSA)* but I have not found a medieval form of the name and its derivation is doubtful.

Mount Bannog

Mount Bannog is presented in British tradition as the boundary between Strathclyde and the Picts. The poem Gododdin speaks of 'beyond Bannog' in the sense that the hills lay between Pictish and British territory (Jackson 1969 p. 103). It is significant that the obvious available divide between north and south, the Antonine Wall, was not chosen. The march ran diagonally south-east to north-west, separating the Clyde and Forth basins.

The Pictish side has long been recognised from such place-names as Myot Hill as the territory of the tribe mentioned by Dio Cassius, the Maeatae. After the Pictish defeat in the Northern Wars it seems to have become known as Manau Gododdin (Jackson 1969 p. 68-75), signifying presumably Manau under tribute to the Gododdin. Its tribal citadel at Stirling controlled one of the most strategically important river-crossings in Scotland, and remained a royal stronghold throughout the Middle Ages.

Assuming that in the fifth century the Maeatae, basing the operation on their citadel at Stirling, overran parts of Strathclyde and Lothian, and before c 500 were gradually pushed back to their traditional tribal lands of Manau, the memory of Nynia not only at Stirling but at Cadder (and even possibly in the upper Clyde valley) begins to make sense.

The *Miracula* and Ailred's *Life* both tell of Nynia's confrontation with king Tudvallus, the (spiritually) blind king whom Nynia heals. His identity has been argued in relation to Welsh genealogy. Tutagual grandson of Maximus, of the Jesus College genealogy (*Harlean MS* 3859) (Genealogy IV) and *Jesus College Oxford MS* 20 (genealogy xix) was associated by Ralegh Radford with Manau on the strength of his relationship to Merfyn Frych '*o dir Manau*', from the land of Manau (*Red Book of Hergist*). Merfyn was Tutagual's great, great grandson through a daughter. His death in 681 '*in Manao*' was recorded in the Annals of Ulster, and it has been vigorously argued that Manau in these contexts represents the Isle of Man (Macqueen 1961 p. 8-10 and notes). With no more and no less authority Tudwal could have been connected with Manau Gododdin. The thread of argument is tenuous. The later Tutwal king of Strathclyde and father of Rhiderch (patron of St. Kentigern) has also been identified with Tudwal of the *Miracula*. The identification has been presented as evidence for a sixth-century date for St. Nynia (Macquarrie 1988).

Neither identification advances the search for the Pictish chief instrumental in the conversion of his people. The process by which they accepted Christianity was almost certainly a mass conversion following the baptism of their chief. Neither of the British 'Tudwals' fit the description and we are left to look for another (Pictish) prince.

The Niduari Picts

If the Maeatae or their successors were Bede's southern Picts, the *Miracula* calls them, probably corruptly, the 'Naturae Picts'. An apparently more correct reading — *Niduari* — appears in both the early lives of St. Cuthbert [21]. Niduari has been interpreted as an OE word containing the element *neothe-*, *nithe-* meaning down and signifying lowland Picts (Levison 1940 p. 289) with the suffix representing the OE *were* 'folk' (Macquarrie). The first element is more likely however to represent what the Picts called themselves, or at least what the Britons had called them — an older, brythonic name.

21. The anonymous Life refers to '*regio Niuduera*' approached from Melrose by sea (Colgrave 1940 194-5). Bede's Life calls it the 'land of the Niduari' and implies a trip down the Tweed and northward by boat, probably to the southern shore of the Forth near Blackness or Stirling. Another garbling of the name Niduari appears in Geoffroi de Gaimar's *L'Estoire des Angles*' written 1135-40. 'Westmaringiens' may have read 'Niedwaringiens' (Bell 1960).

It is striking in this context that a group of Brittonic place-names stretches along the southern shore of the Forth incorporating the element *tref-* (homestead) prefixed by Nid-. They appear to be unique to this part of southern Scotland and are not matched in Wales. Niddrie in the parish of Liberton, Edinburgh (Nodref 1214x30 *Newbattle*); Niddry Castle in Kirkliston (Nodereyf 1266 *ER* i; Nudref 1290 Theiner *Vet Mon*7; and Longniddrie in East Lothian (Nodref 1315x21 *RMSi* 56; Laungnudrethe 1380x81 RMS i 638). Watson suggested that the first element was the Brittonic *newydd* influenced by the Gaelic *nuadh*, to produce the meaning 'Newstead' (Watson 1926 p. 363), but other analyses are presumably possible.

Conclusions : The Mission

It has been objected that to visualise a sub-Roman bishop undertaking the conversion of the pagan beyond the frontiers of the Roman Province would be unhistorical (E. A. Thompson 1958).[22] But it would be hard to account for the existence of the Christian church in North Britain and Ireland in the fifth century if the implied norm had been rigidly adhered to. More than this, the objection leaves out of reckoning the innovations of St. Martin, and the political situation in north Britain between 410 and 500 AD.

Martin stepped out of the Roman world every time he left the city of Tours to evangelise the surrounding countryside. His work in converting rural Gaul was of the closest relevance to a churchman like Nynia. Nynia's *paruchia* may have centred on the trading post at *Candida Casa* and the tribal oppidum of Stirling — possibly even the city of Carlisle — but he is credited with evangelising a largely rural society.

The current excavation at Whithorn is reinforcing the evidence of the early Christian memorial stones as to regular contact between *Candida Casa* and south-western Gaul. St. Martin's influence becomes increasingly comprehensible. A sub-Roman emporium has been traced, importing fine glass, pottery, wine and other luxuries. Such trading contacts would lead also to the introduction of ideas, and the early establishment at Whithorn of a Christian church with Continental connections is vividly explained.

Nynia's episcopal see, a centre of wealth, culture, and Christian literacy, was threatened, not only by the raiding Irish, against whom there seem to have been good coastal defences, but by the Picts. Leaving aside as undetermined the dating and significence of the symbol stone at Trusty's Hill, Anwoth, the Picts' occupation of territories south of Forth and Clyde, brought them uncomfortably near the Roman roads giving access to the south-west through Nithsdale and Annandale. The *paruchia* of *Candida Casa* was thus exposed to potential attack.[23]

Nynia's mission to the southern Picts does not need to be seen as the wanderings of a peripatetic churchman in search of souls to save. It was a political necessity, an improvised response to desperate circumstances for which the previously ordered Roman world had no model. An enemy defeated and Christianised in defeat was doubly disarmed. The mission to the southern Picts may have been more purposeful and more politically motivated than used to be thought.

22. Professor Thompson himself cites the example of a bishop in Africa who seems to have done much as Nynia and Patrick did in evangelising the pagan. North Britain and north Africa were perhaps comparable as being beyond the limits of the Roman world.

23. Apart from Trusty's Hill there are other sculptures and structures in Wigtownshire which were probably Pictish.

In brief, the answers offered here to the four questions posed at the beginning, are that Cathures was Cadder; that Cadder and Eccles represent two primitive church centres in Pictish territory on the borders of Strathclyde, and explain the allusion to Nynniaw and Peibyaw on either side of Mynydd Bannawg; that Cadog's northern monastery was at Eccles; and that the southern Picts were the descendants or successors of the Maeatae, occupying Manau Gododdin. These are no more than tentative conclusions, but as such they have the virtue of illuminating hitherto obscure material, and resolving muddle into pattern. The fifth question is by now insistent : who was the chief whose cooperation and patronage would have been indispensable to Nynia in evangelising the southern Picts?

Conclusions : The Pictish Chief

Studies of St. Nynia are littered with converted and previously wicked kings, some regarded as Pictish, most of them assumed to have been British : Nynnyaw and Peibyaw themselves (Chadwick 1950 p. 40), Tutagual of the line of Maximus (Radford 1950 p. 90), and Tutwal of Strathclyde, the father of Rhydderch (Macquarrie 1988 p. 12-13). But the one unequivocally Pictish chief, who seems to have been converted at Eccles, and on whom we are told the Christian ecclesiastical order of fossor was conferred, was Caw of Pritdin. Caw, whose name could be written Cadw (Chadwick 1953 p. 6) was remembered at St. Andrews, as founder of a religious community 'this side of Mount Bannog' (and in the Book of Llandaff as the father of a saintly kindred).

At St. Andrews in the eleventh century, I suggest, when British and Pictish saints were at a discount, his legend was dug up and his credit appropriated to boost the prestige of Llancarfan.[24] The names and persons of Caw and Cadog were either accidentally confused — or more probably — the similarity of their names in the forms Cadw and Cadog was deliberately exploited. An old story about a Pictish chief and a fossor, be they two persons or one, is essentially more credible than the ubiquity attributed to Cadog of Llancarfan.

According to the traditions of ninth-century Strathclyde Caw had been a Pictish chief, and so was perceived as king of the erstwhile Pictish kingdom with its capital at Dunkeld. The historical Caw, I suggest, who was baptised (with all his people) had his citadel at Stirling. In general terms and without the personal identification, the circumstances have been vividly evoked :

> 'the kirk in whose parish Stirling lay before the establishment of the burgh kirk, appears early as Eccles and is therefore the one dedication to St. Ninian likely to be ancient; since the rock of Stirling was probably a sub-Roman tribal oppidum the placing of a kirk at a distance of one and a half miles (two km) from it is suggestive of the cautious acceptance of a new religion by a tribal king'.
>
> (Duncan 1977 p. 39-40).

First came the mass conversion, then perhaps a burial ground with a fossor in charge of it, and then a church which gave a new name to the district — Eccles. At the same time or later a monastery was built of stone in emulation of *Candida Casa*. No matter whether Caw (or Cadw), the baptised chief, was the same person as the fossor Cadw (or Cadoc), and the father of Gildas and a line of distinguished churchmen, tradition called both

24. Llancarfan, newly welded into the bishopric of Gloucester and the Province of Canterbury, may have made contact with St. Andrews under archiepiscopal agencies, never more influential in Scotland than in the lifetime of Turgot and Lanfranc.

figues Caw of Pritdin. The ambivalent perception of British saga all but conceals the part he played in the birth of the Pictish church.

It has to be noticed, though not used as a brick for building, that a churchman called Doc came to be honoured in Menteith and Linlithgow. He is said to have associated with St. Machan, whose relics were at Campsie, and whose name is incorporated in the early place-name Ecclesmachan. It is to be expected that Nynia worked with a team and trained successors. Caw or Cadw and/or Doc, Machan, and the shadowy Iestyn may constitute the nucleus of such a group. The part played by Peibyaw, perhaps at Cadder, remains obscure. His memory appears to have been submerged by Strathclyde's fixation with St. Kentigern.

The fifth-century Christian memorial stone at Kirkliston, and the two wells — Dog Well at Linlithgow *(OSA)* and Nynewell at Abercorn seem to indicate the southern limits of Eccles' *plebania.* They corresponded roughly to the bounds of the medieval deanery of Linlithgow (diocese of St. Andrews). If the chronology of Gildas is to be relied on, the geographical location of Nynia's *paruchia,* including Cadder, points to a fifth-century date.

Conclusions : Eccles and Candida Casa

The foundations of the Pictish church seem to have been claimed both for St. Kentigern and St. Cadog. In contrast to the boasting of Glasgow and Llancarfan, the sources relating to Nynia are reticent in their bald statement that he evangelised the southern Picts. Both Bede (c. 731) and the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi,* written at Whithorn, perhaps a generation later, make the claim (Macqueen 1962). The *Miracula* devotes ten lines to the monasteries living strictly to rule and the chapels that Nynia established, but it gives not a single place-name. That is less surprising once one has discovered that all that contemporaries could call his two main centres were the Fort *(cader)* and the Church *(eccles).* The information is nevertheless vague. What was its source? Did Bede get the story from Bishop Pecthelm of Whithorn? And were the ten lines in the poem an elaboration of Bede's statement?

There is a possibility that each drew upon an independent source. Nynia's foundation of the Pictish church may have been known at Jarrow as a consequence of Abbot Ceolfrid's negotiations with King Nechtan, and also Adamnan of Iona, when Bede was a boy. Ailred of Rievaulx, relying on Whithorn's sources, added nothing specific about the mission to the Picts apart from describing an anachronistic parish system. His *Life* was based, however, not only on Bede and the *Miracula,* but on the little book written in a barbarian tongue that has been shown to have been Old English. Analysis further suggests that it was a translation from a Latin Life of Celtic provenance (Macqueen 1961). While the suggestion that it was an Irish *Vita* seems unwarranted — a British text written at *Candida Casa* is more likely — the general hypothesis is supported by the archaic content of Ailred's *Life.*

To begin with he preserves the memory of Peibyaw (or Plebia); and his telling of some of the miracle stories suggest a very early source. Tudwal's persecution of Nynia causes the crops to fail, recalling the pre-Christian Celtic association of kings with fertility. Nynia draws a circle with his staff to enclose his herd of cattle, magic practised in old Cornish and Breton stories. Scotia is mentioned in a context that makes it clear Ireland was meant.

The *Miracula's* presentation of the bishop living as a member of the monastic community at Whithorn is similarly suggestive. This practice was followed at the Northumbrian episcopal see of Lindisfarne but its Celtic irregularity embarrassed a high stickler like Bede (Bede : *Life of St. Cuthbert* Ch. 16). Bishop Pecthelm was a monk, but it would have been surprising if he had instituted such an arrangement on establishing his See at Whithorn. The *Miracula's* evidence on this point signifies at least that a monastery already existed at *Candida Casa* before the Northumbrian diocese was created. (An impressive range of buildings and paved courtyard has been unearthed at Whithorn but there is no specifically archaeological proof it was a monastery). Memories of such a monastery, and of a pre-Northumbrian regime, were however incorporated in the *Miracula.*

On the one hand Bede's authority for the mission to the Picts has been questioned (Duncan 1981) and on the other doubt has been thrown on Nynia's association with *Candida Casa* (Chadwick 1950); but though Bede is apparently our earliest extant source, his account is not the sole root of either the *Miracula* or Ailred's *Life.* Ailred certainly, and probably the *Miracula,* are linked with sources earlier than the Northumbrian supremacy in Galloway. A continuous, if attenuated tradition was preserved at Whithorn, while at Eccles the commemoration of St. Nynia seems to have survived the vicissitudes of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

It is hard to believe that contact between *Candida Casa* and the Pictish church did not continue as the daughter church developed north of the Forth, either in the latter years of Nynia's ministry or in the generations that immediately followed. That contact may have survived only until the Anglian conquest of the Gododdin. Then the Northumbrian advance severed communication between the primitive Christian centres of the Forth basin and Galloway a generation or so before the Northumbrian church assumed responsibility for *Candida Casa* and made St. Nynia its particular care. Much has been said about a broken tradition; but what was broken above all was the contact between Nynia's episcopal see and his mission field.

The connection between them may be dimly perceived through the legends and place-name evidence surrounding the supposedly Irish St. Finian. Both Welsh and Irish hagiology associate Finian with St. Cadog in the relationship of disciple and teacher, and at the same time connect St. Finian with the church and diocese of *Candida Casa.* The identity of this Finian may predate the Abbots of Clonard and Movilla. He may have been the British churchman Vinniau, a correspondent of Gildas (Dumville and Lapidge. 1984 p. 207-14). In the vernacular form Winni, Finian or Vinniau is commemorated in south-western Scotland both at Kirkgunzeon and Kilwinning (Brooke 1987).

Vinniau's role connecting Nynia and Cadog rests upon speculative assumptions and is called in question by the confused identities of Cadw of Eccles and Cadog of Llancarfan. A better case for continued communication between Eccles and *Candida Casa* into the sixth century must await enquiry into the lesser saints of Whithorn and the parish saints of Fife and Forfar.

Attempts to dissociate Nynia and *Candida Casa* do not stand up to examination, and the growing understanding of the importance and age of the church and settlement of *Candida Casa* enhances the interest in St. Ninian. So long as the invocation of St. Ninian at Eccles, and the evidence from Cadder, Dunkeld and Abercorn went unrecognised as

evidence of Nynia's mission to the Picts, it was possible to conclude that the mission failed. There have been vested interests for long enough to whom that failure was not unwelcome.

Now, place-name study, archaeology, and the fresh hearing historians have accorded Gildas, have made the literary sources more explicable. A motive for the mission, a demonstration of the power of the Christian God over pagan gods, the conversion of a king and people, the consecration of Christian burial grounds, the building of churches and later monasteries — these events can be extracted fragmented from the *vitae* and genealogies. They fall naturally into sequence and can be given a specific topography. The beginnings of the Pictish church, its first centres, and the identities of some of Nynia's colleagues and successors are then distantly perceived. This view is offered as meriting further consideration and debate.

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APPENDIX A

Chapter ix of *Vita Sancti Kentigerni* by Jocelin of Furness : the reference to Cathures

Kentigern is depicted crossing the Forth from Culross and encountering Fregus in the village of Kernach (Forbes 1874 p. 50). Fregus is a holy man and he is dying. Shortly after greeting Kentigern with prophetic recognition of his holiness, he dies.

Next day Kentigern yoked two untamed bulls *(tauros indomitos)* to a new wain and placed Fregus body in it. Having prayed he enjoined the bulls 'to carry the burden . . . to the place the Lord had provided for it. And in truth the bulls, in no way restive or in anything disobeying the voice of Kentigern, without tripping or fall, came by a straight road, along where there was no path, as far as Cathures which is now called Glasgu, along with Kentigern and many others accompanying; and then with all gentleness...they halted near a certain cemetery which had long before been consecrated by St. Ninian'.

Jocelin compares this with the return of the ark of the Lord to Isreal by the Philistines as an act of expiation, in a newly made cart drawn by two milch cows (Samuel Bk i Ch 6). Jocelin's narrative then continues : 'the saint took the holy body down from the wain, and after celebrating his obsequies, buried him in the cemetery in which no man had lain. This was the first burial in that place where afterward very many were buried in peace.

The introduction of Fregus as one of the founder-saints of the church of Glasgow, like St. Thaney and St. Serf, may have taken as late as the tenth century. It is not strictly relevant in the present paper. By the twelfth century Fregus' shrine was localised in Glasgow (Macquarrie 1986 p. 10). In the *Life of St. Kentigern* Fregus was an anachronism. Fregus may have been *Fergustius episcopus Scotiae Pictus* who attended a council in Rome in 721 and according to the *Aberdeen Breviary*, christianised parts of northern Scotland (Farmer 1978 p. 159). By introducing Fregus, Jocelin was claiming the conversion of the northern Picts by the church of Glasgow, regardless of the claims of Iona. Kentigern himself is later portrayed as evangelising the land of the Picts *(patria Pictorum)* mistakenly glossed Galweithia (Macqueen 1961 p. 44).

APPENDIX B

The Ecles- Place-Names

The place-name element ecles- is now recognised as marking the sites of churches founded before any word for church other than the Latin *ecclesia* had entered the native vocabulary (Cameron 1968). The distribution of twenty-six place-names in Scotland has been plotted and a chronological progression proposed, dating those of southern Scotland between c 400 and 450 AD (Barrow 1983).

The simplex forms — Ecles, Egles — do not appear to extend north of Kirkton, Stirling, although there are others further south — Eccles in Berwickshire, Eccles in Nithsdale, and the doubtful 'Regles' at Penicuik.[25] This is presumably the earliest stratum, reaching back to the time when a church was rare enough to need no other identification. The next stratum may have been the few that have a descriptive second element like Ecclefechan (little church) in Annandale, Egglisbrech (speckled church) at Falkirk; and a later stratum still contain as a second element the name of an identifying patron saint. South of the Forth this type is confined to Eglis-malesoch (Carluke) Lanarkshire, and Ecclesmachan near Linlithgow.

APPENDIX C

The Name Nynia/Ninian

Watson wrote : 'in the numerous commemorations of Ninian his name never appears in its native form; what appears is either the latinized form or the Gaelic form derived therefrom through the Scots vernacular, (Ringan). He is thus a notable exception to the rule that though the name of a native saint may be found latinized in a Latin document, it is the native form, handed down by tradition, that appears in commemorations' (Watson 1926 p. 295-96). This dictum has been taken as indicating a broken tradition (Macqueen 1961 p. 85) and commemorations of St. Ninian in that form have tended to be regarded as late medieval in origin.

The development of the Latinized and vernacular forms of the name Nynia/Ninian can be traced in record :

Nynia	c 731	Bede : *Eccl History*
Nynia Ninia Niniau	8th C	*Miracula Nynie Episcopi*
Nynia Nynia	8th C	*Hymnus S Nynie Episcopi*
Niniga (? genitive)	9th C	Alcuin (Haddan Stubbs)
MoNinn	9th C	*Martyrology of Tallacht*
MoNinn	9th C	*Martyrology of Oengus*
Ninia	11th C	William of Malmesbury
Nynnyaw	? 11th C	*Culhwch and Olwen*
Ninia	?	*Litany of Dunkeld*
Ninianus	1159x1166	*Vita S Niniani* : Ailred
Kyrctoun Niniani	1208x1214	*Dunfermline Reg*
Ringan	c 1301	*CDS* ii

The assumption that 'St. Ninian' represents a later commemoration can be challenged. In a note concerned mainly with the forms Ringan and Tringan it has been suggested that the Brittonic hypocoristic form **To-Niniau* may have been retained in the Northumbrian church in its less emphatically Celtic form', Niniau — hence the Latin Nynia (Bede, *Miracula*) — and when Gaelic speech became dominant in Galloway, Niniau became Nineann,

25. This place-name takes the form 'Regles', sometimes Terregles. (*OSA*). the Douglases and after them the Crichtons who held land near Terregles in Kirkcudbrightshire, also held land at Penicuik. The name near Penicuik may have been a later medieval importation.

and so Ninian (Boyle 1968 p. 173-75). By this reasoning no break in tradition need be contemplated. The change from Niniau to Ninian happened in conformity with the general change from Cumbric to Gaelic speech which took place in the south-west in the tenth century (Jackson 1953 p. 9-10, 219). A corresponding change may be assumed in Stirlingshire in the ninth.

The gaelicisation of the form Niniau had the effect in Latin texts of changing Nynia, a noun of first declension with the genitive Nynie, to the second declension Ninianus with the genitive Niniani. Most commemorations were couched in the latter form in medieval documents.

The complexities of the vernacular Ringan and Tringan forms are of less importance here. The form St. Ringan became popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when it took the alternative form Runan in the Isle of Man. There is no record of earlier examples. In spite of the appearance on the Ordnance Survey maps of Killantringan (NX 9957), 'Tringan' as a form does not seem to be recorded before 1500 except possibly in the Isle of Man and in a French document of 1434 referring to the shrine of 'sainct Treignen' at Whithorn (*TDGNHAS* 1950 p. 154).

APPENDIX D

St. Cadog in Scotland : extracts from *Vita S. Cadoci* of Llifris

Of the two relevant passages, the first (Ch 27) begins :

'The man of God, arising with three of his disciples went to the . . . church of the blessed Andrew. His vigils and prayers there being ended, he took the journey back, and when returning he had arrived at a certain fort (*urbs*) which is on this side of Mount Bannog, which is said to be situated in the middle of Scotland. Cadog is then commanded by an angel in a dream : "The Lord God bids thee . . . not to depart hence for the space of seven years for the purpose of converting the people of the place to the faith of the Lord".

Cadog encounters Caw or Cawr of Prydyn (Caw of Pictland). Caw was among Arthur's great council of Celtic chiefs in the Dream of Rhonabwy (*Mabinogion*). In Culhwch and Olwen he was represented as a Pictish king, possessing 'the six cantreds of Prydyn', all the territory of the later Pictish kingdom, without perhaps, Caithness, and probably a ninth-century anachronism. Welsh tradition endowed him with a stronghold at Twrcelyn (holly castle), a clumsy mis-translation (I suggest) of *Dun Chaillean*, misread *Dun Cuillen*, the ninth-century Gaelic for Dunkeld. In the *Vita* he appears as a '*scal*' (a disembodied spirit) of giant size (Chadwick 1953). This was a play on the word cawr, meaning giant.

While digging the foundations of his monastery Cadog turns up an enormous 'collar-bone' large enough for a horseman to ride through. Caw appears — a terrifying figure — and in front of a crown of local people, falls at Cadog's feet. He confesses : 'beyond Mount Bannog formerly I reigned for many years'. He had come 'with my troops of plunderers . . . on these coasts for the sake of pillaging the same and wasting them. But the king who at that time reigned over this kingdom slew me and my host when we joined battle together . . . From the day of our killing we were tormented until now with the devouring flames of hell'. Caw was restored to life, and became Cadog's fossor all his days.[26]

Ch 36 appears to have shifted in time, and treats of a period after St. Cadog's death. Unlike Ch 27, which refers to Scotland, Ch 36 calls it Albania :

'Long ago the same patron of revered memory built an elegant monastery of stone work in Albania on this side of the mountain Bannauc (note the older, less anglicised spelling). 'Brethren having been gathered therein, he appointed that the devout service of God should be given by them forever. In the porch . . . the bodies of three of his disciples lay covered with marble sepulchres'.

A spy-hole made it possible to peep at the relics but this was reserved to the clergy and specially privileged persons. A peasant disobeys the taboo and incurs Cadog's vengeance by losing his eye. The Christian onlookers praise God. Thereafter the sufferer 'went about from place to place throughout the whole province of 'Lintheamina' displaying his damaged eye and begging. Watson thought Lintheamina was a mis-copied form of *Lleuddiniawn*, the Welsh form of Lothian, and suggested that the peasant 'would be more likely to do his begging in a neighbourhood district than near the monastery' (Watson 1926 p. 516).

26. Fossor, a dignitary in charge of burials, was one of the orders of priesthood in the early Continental church. In Scotland the title developed into a surname : in 1296 Alexander Fossar of Tyninghame swore fealty to Edward I (*CDS* ii).

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TWO RECENT FINDS OF EXOTIC PORPHYRY IN GALLOWAY

by

W. F. Cormack

Porphyry is a generic term for an igneous rock with large crystals (phenocrysts) in a contrasting groundmass. Local types occur in the British Isles including Galloway, but outstanding in quality and appearance are red porphyry, which is found in Egypt, and green porphyry which apparently emanated from quarries in Southern Laconia in Greece. This green porphyry has characteristic white or pale green phenocrysts in a dark green groundmass. Examples are known in Mycenean and Etruscan contexts, but the quarries seem to have come into full production in classical Greek, Hellenistic and Roman Imperial times when the material was widely used for decoration of baths, temples, palaces and other prestigious buildings.[1] The quarries ceased production before the end of the 5th century A.D. so any material appearing in N.W. Europe beyond the frontiers of Imperial Rome must have been stripped from its original location and reused — the popular name for this second-hand material being *porfido verde antico.* The finds consist of fragments of tiles, slabs or veneers with two parallel sawn faces and often with one or more original edges.[2] After describing the two new finds and their local and wider context the various methods whereby the fragments could have moved to N.W. Europe will be discussed. In doing so the writer expresses his indebtedness to the valuable article by Dr Chris Lynn of Belfast,[3] which should be consulted for detailed discussion and full references.

One fragment (Fig. 1, right) about 50mm long and 9mm thick with two polished faces and part of an edge was found in 1987 during the present excavations at Whithorn[4] in the filling of a mediaeval grave — a grave which however had penetrated into the 'Hiberno-Norse' levels there. The original context in that location could therefore have been the 11th century or later. I am grateful to Peter Hill for allowing me to refer to this find in advance of publication.

The other fragment (Fig. 1, left) an irregular trapeze in shape, with a maximum length of 70mm, width of 35mm, and 23 to 25mm thickness, with two faces one of which is somewhat matt, the other showing striations (sawcuts ?), and an edge, was found in 1989 during the present excavations at Barhobble, in the Parish of Mochrum,[5] some 12 miles north west of Whithorn. It was situated in the west end of a grave, which was under 1 metre long, so presumably that of a child; a grave below, and orientated differently from, the stone built church there. This church is believed to have been built in the 12th century and the earlier graves beneath it to be of the 11th century, although a C-14 date of alder charcoal from the grave producing the porphyry (GU 2728) yields an unsatisfactorily

1. See Pausanias (ed. P. Levi 1971), *Guide to Greece* Vol 2, Penguin Classics 77 and footnotes 203 and 204, and modern discussions referred to in Lynn C. J. 1984, below.

2. The thicker pieces c.20mm would be appropriate for flooring, the thinner, which are much more common, for veneers.

3. Lynn C. J. 1984, 'Some Fragments of Exotic Porphyry found in Ireland' *Journal of Irish Archaeology* Vol. II pp 19-32. The article has at p 20 a coloured illustration of an example from Armagh laid on a pavement of red and green porphyry at Rome.

4. Hill, Peter (1986), *Whithorn 1 Interim Report* 1984-1986, (1987) *Whithorn 2 Interim Report* 1984-1987 and (1990) *Whithorn 3 Interim Report* 1988-90.

5. Cormack W. F. Barhobble, *Interim Reports* No. 1 (1984-5), No. 2 (1986), No. 3 (1987), No. 4 (1988), No. 5 (1989), also *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1984-9, and *Scottish Archaeological Gazette* No. 17 p 5. A technical description of the material is 'The hard green crystals are a mixture of feldspar, quartz and chlorite, whereas the brown material represents a scaly product of weathering from a soft underlying clay-like substance. The latter is a mixture of quartz and chlorite'. (A. Livingstone).

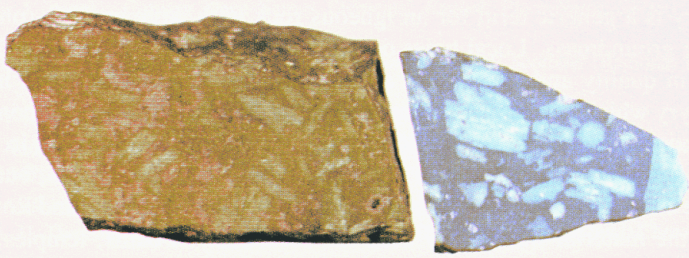

Fig. 1 Exotic porphyry from Whithorn (right) and Barhobble (left). For size see text. The red encrustation on the Barhobble example is due to weathering of the chlorite in the groundmass. Photo - Jean Comrie.

wide calibrated 2 sigma span of Cal. AD 1028 to 1262, a span which however corresponds with those from the 'Hiberno-Viking' levels at Whithorn.[6]

In 1984, 13 finds were known in Ireland, a number of these being from well known ecclesiastical sites including Armagh, Downpatrick, Movilla and Kilteel, Co. Kildare.[7] Although fragments were found in mediaeval levels, the first three sites were all previously early Christian ones, while the earliest part of Kilteel is a 'single cell Romanesque structure'. At least 7 examples came from 11th century levels in secular sites in 'Viking' Dublin.[8]

In 1984, 6 examples were known from Scotland, to which should be added a further piece from Shetland found in 1986 and the two from Galloway. These examples are as follows:

Brough of Birsay, Orkney. Reportedly found in a pre-Norse Pictish bronze-working area, but its association has been queried.[9] The site has of course Pictish, Norse and Mediaeval occupations.

Hunday, Orkney. Found in a stone urn.[10] A competent authority has suggested this was a cremation burial of the Norse period.

St. Ninian's Isle, Shetland. Found in the nave of the mediaeval church.[11] this site has of course Norse and Pictish levels also.

6. Hill, Peter, *op. cit., 1987.*
7. Lynn C. J. *op. cit.*
8. Lynn C. J.*op. cit.*
9. Curle C. L. (ed) 1982 *Pictish and Norse Finds from the Brough of Birsay* 1934-74. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series No. 1 p 46. The find is in Tankerness House Museum, Kirkwall, Orkney.
10. *Catalogue of National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland* 1892 p 52. Find in Royal Museum of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
11. Small A., and others 1973 *St. Ninian's Isle and its Treasure* Vol 1 p 31. Find in Lerwick Museum, Shetland.

Kilberry, Argyll. From the remains of a mediaeval chapel near the castle.[12] The chapel is on or near an earlier site.

Keiss, Caithness. From a mound believed to be a dwelling or a small abandoned oratory used as a dwelling.[13] Date not known but believed to be pre-mediaeval.

Balmerino, Fife. A surface find from a field quarter mile south of the 13th Century Cistercian Abbey.[14] There is no known earlier occupation in the locality.

Kebister, Shetland. From a possible chapel of the early-Christian period preceding the mediaeval residence there of the vice-deacon of Shetland in the diocese of Orkney.[15]

A difficulty arises with regard to the few recorded finds from England, since a find appearing on a site having previous Roman occupation in addition to later Dark Age or Mediaeval occupation may well be categorised as derived from a Roman pavement or building, even when found in the later context. It should be noted however that a fragment of green porphyry has been found at Jarrow,[16] of which the main occupation is Anglian and Mediaeval.

About 50 examples of porphyry, mostly green, have been found on mediaeval church sites in Denmark. These are considered to have been introduced in the 12th Century as relics from diocesan centres in the Rhineland and to have originated at former Roman centres there.[17]

The movement of the material to Scotland and Ireland from the Roman world should not however be ascribed to a single cause, nor to a single period. The evidence sometimes favours one view and sometimes another, and not all scholars agree on its interpretation. The movement has been variously accounted for as follows:

For portable altars. The thinner slabs would be highly suitable for portable altars which usually have dimensions of about 15x20cms or so and were intended to be carried in a satchel by a priest who had several cures to serve, or who required to administer mass to the sick in their own homes. Although portable altars might have crosses engraved on the surface, this was not apparently essential. None of the surviving fragments of *porfido* is recorded as engraved. The Barhobble example would seem to be on the thick side for a portable altar. Some portable altars seem to have been presentation pieces and embellished with a decorative frame of metal or other material.[18]

For relic covers. Frequently the upper slab of an altar had a recess cut into it for relics, which recess had a polished decorative stone as a cover. There is such a recessed altar top, minus its cover, in the crypt of the Priory at Whithorn. There would seem to

12. Small A., and others 1973 *op. cit.* note 14 also PSAS Vol. 95 p 119. Find at Kilberry House.
13. Laing, S., 1866 *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness* pp 36-7. This find is also in Royal Museum of Scotland (cat. GJ 193).
14. Find also in Royal Museum of Scotland (cat. HX 512).
15. Find reported in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1986 p 23. Council of British Archaeology, Scotland. Publication pending.
16. Reported along with Kebister find (above) and confirmed by R. J. Cramp. Publication pending.
17. Lynn, C. J. *op. cit.* p 23.
18. e.g. an example in red porphyry in the British Museum comes from Lower Saxony and is dated 1190-1200 — the stone, perhaps 15cms by 20cms, is set in a highly decorated and gilt copper frame about 30cms wide by 37cms tall. The face is uncarved, but saints' names had been painted on the back. It had been specially presented to a known ecclesiastic on his elevation to an abbacy or bishopric.

be no way in which a relic cover from a church can be readily differentiated from a portable altar.[19]

For decoration of shrines, tombs or fixed altars. There is no doubt that during the mediaeval period certain important shrines or tombs were embellished with rare and colourful stone, including *porfido verde.* However it is not known when this custom originated. The Northumbrian Angles spared no expense in the embellishment of certain of their monasteries with imported materials and furnishings,[20] and although porphyry is not listed specially, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that this material was being imported from the former Roman world from the seventh century onwards for embellishment of churches. The possibility of this at Anglian Whithorn will be mentioned later.

As relics or souvenirs from the Roman world. Pilgrims of all periods have brought home relics of their trips abroad, particularly from places with important cultural or religious significance. Where finds come from deposits which can be dated to the 11th or 12th centuries or later there is a likelihood that fragments were being brought to the British Isles in this way. The Vikings with their wide-ranging trading connections could however have been trafficking in this material and the location of the finds seems to bear this out. It will be noted that of the Scottish finds more than half are from Caithness and the Northern Isles, while of the Irish finds a similar proportion seems to be associated with the Norse of Dublin.

Not all such movement of relics and associated decorative stone was necessarily peaceful however, as Orderic Vitalis records.[21] He tells how in 1087 certain Italian traders from Bari, *en route* to Antioch called in at Lycia on the way. A spy was sent to the church of St. Nicholas at Myra, the chief city 3 miles from the coast, but which had been depopulated by the Turks. On their way home the men of Bari landed and with crowbars and hammers broke into the shrine of St. Nicholas and carried off to Bari not only the corporeal relics of the saint but the broken fragments of his 'marble' shrine. These formed the nucleus of the Church of St. Nicholas at Bari, much to the enrichment of the clergy and citizens of that city. About the same time a Norman knight, William Pantulf, travelled to Bari, and obtained, presumably at a price, a tooth of St. Nicholas and two fragments of his 'marble tomb' for the priory at Noron in Normandy, founded by him.[22] Orderic provides much more detail but sufficient is quoted to show that not only corporeal relics of a saint had a well known value in the 11th century, but that this extended also to fragments of his shrine or tomb. It is unlikely that the events reported were unique.

19. A relic cover, or portable altar, dated to the 13th century, has survived from Mochrum Parish, having been found by the 4th Marquess of Bute during excavations about the turn of this century at a chapel on an island on Castle Loch. It is made of local slate with a polished upper surface cut with five cross-crosslets. It is approx. 14cms square and 1.2cm thick and is figured in Radford C.A.R. 1951 'Castle Loch Island, Mochrum', *Transactions of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiqu. Society* Vol 28 p 41.

20. 'Christian treasures from Italy and Gaul came to the northern monasteries — Apostolic relics, panel paintings . . . , images of the Virgin and the Apostles, precious figured textiles and sacred vessels'. Henderson, George 1987, *From Durrow to Kells* p 14. This is just one quotation from a work in which Prof. Henderson illustrates vividly the flood of objects, ideas and beliefs which poured northwards in the 7th Century to make 'the period round 700 . . . a high moment in English civilization generally', (to which one might add — in Northumbrian culture in particular).

21. *The Ecclesiastic History of Orderic Vitalis* (ed M. Chibnall 1973) Vol. IV Bks. VII and VIII — Oxford Mediaeval Texts pp 57-69.

22. Chibnall M (ed) *op cit.* p 73. The priory was dedicated to St. Peter, so the relics of St. Nicholas were, as it were, an additional attraction.

As raw material for jewellery. The suggestion has been made that the context of some of the finds indicates that the material may have been intended to be cut, repolished and inserted in fine metalwork. This has been used to explain the find from Birsay[23] and perhaps explains those from workshop areas in Dublin. The large size of crystals, c10-15mm, in *porfido verde* however would seem to render it an unsuitable material for small scale work.

The train of events whereby these Galloway fragments came to Whithorn and Barhobble thus cannot be known with certainty. The conventional, and prudent, view would be that they arrived in one of the modes outlined above but the writer feels that there is a possibility that among the churches embellished by imported material may have been Whithorn, and the fragments under discussion may have come from a shrine of St. Ninian assembled by the Angles there — a shrine which incorporated porphyry. This arises from the phraseology of the 8th century *Miracula Ninie Episcopi*,[24] where two of the miracles refer to a 'marble' floor at Whithorn and a third to St. Ninian's tomb being of 'furrowed marble'.[25] A difficulty is that these saints' lives are full of exaggerated praise of the saint, his miracles, his shrine and the whole general background, with much of the phraseology being of a standard form, lifted wholesale from previous lives of other saints or even from classical authors. However it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that where a description of Whithorn is likely to be within the personal knowledge of the listener, or could readily be checked by him, it is more likely to have some semblance of truth. The likelihood would then exist that by the 11th century such a shrine was dilapidated and its fragments were being dispersed by the 'Hiberno-Norse' at Whithorn as relics of the saint himself. Certainly it would be more plausible for the fragment at Barhobble to have come twelve miles as a relic of St. Ninian than twelve hundred miles as a relic of St. Peter. Of the other find spots in the British Isles, St. Ninian's Isle and Movilla are places which would be particularly keen to acquire relics of their patron saint and saint's *alma mater* respectively.[26] So perhaps these two finds also made their final movement from Whithorn in Galloway.

The writer is indebted to Chris Lynn, Jack Scott, Peter Hill, Jean Comrie, Anne Brundle and Alec Livingstone for assistance but the views expressed in the previous paragraph are his own.

Postscript. The writer is also much indebted to Dr. Chris Lynn for the following additional information.

A fragment of red porphyry tile comes from a house at Christ Church Place, Dublin excavated by Brendan O'Riordain. This house lay immediately under one dated by dendrochronology to 1059 and containing a Hiberno-Norse coin of Sitric (1035-55). To the Irish church sites should be added Derrynaflan, Co. Offaly, which has yielded a fragment of green porphyry from a 'post mediaeval' context.

Several fragments have recently been reported by C. McLees among finds from 11th-12th century levels at Trondheim, Norway.

23. Lynn C. J. *op cit.* p 22.

24. McQueen W. (ed), *Miracula Ninie Episcopi* in *Trans. D.G. Nat. Hist. and Antiqu. Society* Vol. 38 pp 46 (bis) and 49. The *Miracula* are considered to have been written at Whithorn at the end of the 8th century.

25. furrowed = *sulcata*. This would be an appropriate description for fluted material from a classical column ?. It should perhaps be noted that by the time of Ailred's 12th Century *Life*, there is no mention of 'marble' at Whithorn.

26. Finian was trained at Whithorn and it was from there that he went to found his monastery at Movilla in Ireland.

A PROTO-HISTORY OF GALLOWAY

by
A. E. Truckell

The pace of historical and archaeological research in Galloway has greatly increased in recent years but it is now some time since the whole framework or background, in which these researches are taking place, has been stated in these *Transactions*. I produced a 30-page cyclostyled brochure some twenty years ago based on archaeological and written sources all of which were given in detail and have been asked to produce an up-to-date version, but owing to the size it has been necessary to condense it and limit the references to a Bibliography. It should however be stressed that everything in this paper is taken from archaeological or primary written sources. However the interpretation is my own and I hope that it will stimulate further research.

First let us summarize . . . From the 11th to the 13th century we hear much of "Galloway" and the "Galwegians" : it is clear that — probably due to the extinction of Strathclyde — "Galwegians" had occupied an area from the Clyde mouth Southwards, including the present Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, the Clyde valley, Wigtownshire, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Nithsdale, and Annandale-Eskdale as far possibly as the "*Fossa Galweiensis*", the Galloway Ditch mentioned about 1130, on Kershopemoor in Cumberland near where Kershope runs into Liddell : and that part of this area — the present Galloway, Nithsdale and part at least of Clydesdale was for a time under two princely houses who, though nominal vassals of the King of Scotland and serving him in his campaigns had a considerable measure of independence and ruled a community with its own customs and laws.

Who then were these Galwegians? The answer falls into two parts. The Gallghaidhil — "stranger" or "foreign" Gaels, heavily Scandinavian-influenced, fiercer and more brutal than the Norse proper, and making a special point of killing priests and monks and desecrating churches and crosses, first appear in the Irish annals from 852-858 A.D. in a fleet under Caitill Find. Bute and Eigg were in their bounds and it seems that Argyll, the southern Hebrides and Kintyre were their centre at this time.

But, as place-names and traditional tales with roots in an earlier age, such as Sawney Bane and the Heidless Horseman of Tynron Doon show, when they did occupy Galloway and surrounding area, they did not come into an empty land, *pace* the *Inquisitio Davidis*. Let us therefore take a quick run through the centuries before the first mention of "Galloway". The Brythonic of Roman times had passed rapidly into Early Welsh : into this from the mid 400s penetrated early Irish brought by Ulster Cruithne crofter fishermen who crossed over and colonised the shores of the Mull of Galloway : by the mid-500s Irish missionaries were carrying a few Early Irish names — e.g. Slewcairn, Kimkerrick, the two Annatlands — further East and leaving their distinctive pecked crosses at Foregirth, Ruthwell, and Staplegorton in Eskdale. Kentigern sent Constantine to the Urr valley in the late 500s "because he was a Briton" — i.e., a Welsh speaker. When Kentigern preached to a great crowd at Hoddom near 600, "Angles who worshipped Woden" were among the crowd. Mote of Mark was stormed and occupied by Angles shortly after 600 : the rest of Rheged (that ultimate successor of the Civitas Carvettiorum?) seems to have

passed peaceably into Northumbrian control with the marriage of Urien's/Urbgen's great-grand-daughter Rhienmelth to Osuiu around 632 and English began to supplant Welsh except for a few pockets. Whithorn passed from Sub-Romano-British to Irish to Northumbrian : the religious establishment on Ardwall Island was Irish but by the 8th century included Cuthgar, an Angle. The Northumbrian bishopric at Whithorn was set up under Pecthelm not long before 731 : the line ran through Frithuwald, Pectwine, Aethelberht (under whom or his successor the *Miracula Nynie* was written), and Baldwulf, still in office when records fail in 803 : but as Bishop Eardulf of Lindisfarne and Abbot Eadred found refuge at Whithorn about 880 it is likely that the bishopric still continued then. During the late 700s and through the 800s Northumbrian stycas were circulating in Galloway : Northumbrian crosses extend from the Dee Valley eastwards to Annandale, developing through the seventh to eleventh centuries, the later ones showing Scandinavian influence. Placenames such as Penninghame, Fleet, Aldermanseat in Gretna parish, commemorate this period. Now we come to the scatter of early Norse names — Eggerness, Almorness, Heston, Southwick, Satterness. The Talnotrie Hoard, buried between 910 and 920, is obvious Viking loot — an Abbasid coin from Baghdad, a Carolingian coin, some late Northumbrian coins, and Anglo-Saxon ornaments. Various small interlace ornaments from the 8th to 11th centuries have been found in the Luce Sands. There are possible ship-burials at Gretna and Blackshaw : a war-axe comes from Kirkblane : the boat-shaped site on Milton Loch, the rectangular sites on artificial stone islands at Loch Urr, Ochiltree Loch, and Loch Maberry, and some crannog sites, probably date to the Viking period — the canoe from the Locharthur crannog has been dated to this period. Constantine, leading a group of Strathclyde Welsh to refuge in Wales, was killed in battle at Lochmaben in 878. In 937 the West Saxon force met and defeated Olaf Sitricson, pagan Norse king of Dublin, and Constantine King of Scots, at Burnswark (Brunanburgh) : Olaf boarded his ships (at the mouth of the Annan?) and sailed for Ireland. The 10th century seems to have been one of movement in our area : the King of Scots moving his power south : Danelaw Danish-speakers moving North into Eastern Dumfriesshire : heavy Viking influence in the West of our area — witness the trading station at Whithorn, where Norse-Irish coins turn up : the Gallghaidhil moving in.

Culturally there is the sudden efflorescence of chapels and crosses in Wigtownshire (the writer counted 95 10th-11th century crosses in Wigtownshire many years ago and more have been found since). Mr Cormack's work at the chapel site of Barhobble near Elrig has yielded fragments of 10th-11th century crossheads but a deposit of chain mail in the church floor (paralleled by the chain mail in the floor of the chapel next Kolbein Hruga's 1130-ish tower on Wyre in Orkney) has still to be dated. The *Inquisitio Davidis* (dated to between 1107 and 1124), says " . . . Various tribes of various nations flowing in from various parts came to inhabit this deserted region but being of different race, different language, and different customs they did not readily agree, and practised paganism rather than the worship of the faith". Well — deserted, no : but the rest of it (and several places in our area are named in the *Inquisitio*) describe the situation well. As for paganism, the Mossknow hogback, the Wamphray dragon stone, the Norse burial goods at Kirkcudbright, and Sigurd Fafnirsbane on a Wigtownshire stone shows at least that paganism was not far below the surface.

In 1014 Kari Solmundarsson, after Clontarf, wintered with Earl Malcolm at "Hvitsborg", possibly Whithorn : in 1034 Suibhne Mac Cineatha (an archaic form), King of the Gall Ghaidheal died — but where? Early in the 11th century the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots could say that from Forth to Tweed are Lothian and "Galweya". From 1034 Galloway seems to have been one of the nine Scottish earldoms of Thorfinn the Mighty and about 1041-42 he lay "at Gaddgeddler, where England and Scotland meet". In 1054 Thorfinn's Galwegians successfully repelled the sons of Harold who, as a result, on returning to Man, "slew all the Galwegians who dwelt there" — there is probably a link here with the actions of the Norse fleet that year mentioned in the Annals of Ulster — the fleet of the Gallghaidhil, Man, Kintyre and the seaboard of Alban, under the command of MacScelling, a Norseman. In 1064, when Thorfinn died, his dominions descended to his sons Paul and Erlend. In 1079 Malcolm King of Scots invaded Northumbria and attacked Hexham (in the time of Ailred's father or grandfather, both named Eilaf, hereditary priests of Hexham) and Ailred says "the king was angry and summoned his Galwegian vassals, more cruel than the rest", ordering them to destroy everything and kill without regard to age or sex : a miraculous mist arose and by evening they found themselves in Cumbria and on the border of their own district (Carlisle is later described as "on the border of Galloway"). In 1098 King Magnus Barelegs of Norway with a powerful fleet "so exerted his power over the men of Galloway that he forced them to fell timber and carry it to the coast" for the fortresses he was building in Man. Dunegal of Stranid is mentioned in 1123/4 (a Welsh name, the modern Dyfnwal) — and the grant of Annandale (in Galloway) to Bruce in that year is of "Estrahanent" — Ystrad Annant — Welsh seemed to be spoken there from the place-names. Tradition has Bruce marrying the daughter of the previous Lord of Annandale — but he was already married and may have taken his predecessor's daughter as a concubine. Gillealdan — a Galwegian by his name — was asked by Pope Honorius in a letter dated 9th December 1125 to go, as "elect", to York to be consecrated as Bishop of Galloway : his "Professio" to Thurstan there is given as 1126 : it has been suggested that he may have been in office for some time but was a "Culdee" and required instruction and recognition at York : Ralegh Radford dates the earliest element of the Romanesque door at Whithorn to the 1120s and finds its closest affinities in North Wales — but Fergus' church of Cruggleton, still standing, may have had *antae* — gable buttresses — of Irish type.

Now we come to Fergus himself — "*Feregus Rex Galwitensibus*" as he styles himself — and Feregus is an archaic form. The *Roman de Fergus*, written for Alan's (or perhaps his father Roland's wedding?) by the clerk William, says Fergus was the son of Somerled and that at that time Galloway was part of the Kingdom of the Isles. If this be the Somerled who died in 1083, first to be called "of the Isles" that Somerled may have been descended from Earl Gille by his marriage to a daughter of Sigurd the Stout, under whom Earl Gille ruled the Southern Isles. It gives Fergus two brothers — could they be the Ulgric and Duvenald, leaders of the Galwegians, killed at the Battle of the Standard? Fergus is first mentioned as a witness, with his son Uchtred and with Radulf and Duuenald, sons of Dunegal of Stranid, to a charter of about 1136 granting Partick to the church of Glasgow — the houses of Dunegal and Fergus show great interest in this area, often witnessing charters there : King David mentions Strathgryfe in Renfrewshire as being in "that Galloway which is mine". The *Fossa Galweiensis*, as mentioned, appears in a charter of about

1130 and a charter by King David to Dunfermline Abbey, also about 1130, is witnessed at "Strathyrewyn in Galwegia" — too early for Irvine burgh but certainly in the Irvine valley. The "*Roman*" says that the peasants in Galloway carried arms while ploughing : that the horses can run over a quaking bog faster than a man on foot (the "Galloway Nags"!) : the people are ignorant, for they will never enter a church : they do not trouble to pray to God, they are so ignorant and bestial.

Fergus' wife was a daughter of Henry I of England possibly by a daughter of Gilbert de Gand (Ghent) and so a descendant of King Alfred. Fergus' daughter Affreca married the Norse King of Man and her son Godred was old enough to succeed as King of Man by 1144 or 1154. The war between Fergus' sons in the 1150s and his own retreat to a monastery suggest — like the succession of Godred to Man — that Fergus died in 1161 a very old man, and so possibly was indeed a son of the Somerled who died in 1083. His son Uchtred married Gunnild daughter of Waltheof, son of Earl Cospatric of Northumberland, and through her grandmother descended from Aethelred the Unready and through her grandfather Maldred, brother of King Duncan, of the Scottish ruling house also. The marriage brought Uchtred the Lordship of Westmorland. Uchtred often appears witnessing or granting charters, and his fosterbrother Gillechatfar ("servant or follower of the (Welsh) St. Catfarch") witnesses a number of Uchtred's. We know less of his brother Gilbert, though his name, so unlike those of the other Galloway leaders, does suggest the Gilbert de Gand connection : he was much less of a feudaliser, rarely witnessing charters and not known to have granted any.

Uchtred's known family was Lochlann, ("The Norseman" in Gaelic), eldest son and heir, who disappears between 1164 and 1166, when his brother Roland, was old enough to witness a charter at Lochmaben : probably Richard, and another son whose name is not known but who died 30th Sept. 1185 in conflict with the freebooter Gillecolm who usurped part of the Principality and set himself up as Lord : also Fergus who figures in a charter to the monks of Melrose — it was probably this Fergus who, in 1213, was sent by his nephew Alan to Ireland to receive Alan's lands there.

Gilbert is known to have had three sons : Duncan, who succeeded him in Carrick : Gillokonel Manthac : and Malcolm, whose troops left his uncle Uchtred to die at Lochfergus after blinding and castrating him and cutting out his tongue, at Malcolm's order. After this we hear little of Roland until just after Gilbert's death at the beginning of 1185 — Roland had given his "three brothers" to England as hostages in 1176, in an aftermath to the events of 1174, when Gilbert and Uchtred, returning from England after William the Lion's capture, expelled many of the feudalisers, Gilbert then turning on Uchtred. During the years between Uchtred's death in 1174 and 1185 Roland witnesses the occasional charter, seems to have been often at the Scottish court, married Elena, daughter of Richard and sister of William de Morville, and heiress of both, through whom at William's death he acquired the extensive estates of the de Morvilles and the hereditary office of Constable of Scotland, one of the chief offices in the feudal state. It used to be thought that he had lost Uchtred's territory of East Galloway in the troubles of 1174 but it now seems that he may have retained it. Immediately on Gilbert's death Roland went into action to take over Gilbert's western part of Galloway (he had fought Gilbert fiercely in 1174)

: Wyntoun described the 1185 action as "sare, scharp and snell" : Roland first defeated Gillepatrick, fighting on behalf of Gilbert's son Duncan, a hostage in England, and then Gillecolm, a free booter who had seized part of Gilbert's domains and set himself up as Lord of Galloway, a brother of Roland being killed in the battle.

Roland evidently had three sons by 1186, for he gave these as hostages under the agreement by which he made his peace with Henry II (Gilbert had played England and Scotland against each other during his time of power) who had objected to Roland invading Gilbert's lands and agreed to Gilbert's son Duncan, with whom he had no quarrel, obtaining Carrick. By his death in 1200 Roland had lands in Ulster for his services to King John. His son Alan ruled Galloway from 1200 until his death in 1235 : his first wife was a De Lacy of Pontefract : his second Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, grandson of King David I : and his third a daughter of Hugh de Lacy, Lord of Ulster — he needed a Papal dispensation for this marriage because his first wife was within the prohibited degree of relationship. He had great lands in England and with his cousin Duncan of Carrick held nearly a third of Ulster as reward for his military support of King John. He and his brother Thomas were constantly active in war, usually by sea, and usually in the service of King John. Thomas harried the Derry coast in 1212 with 75 long-ships : both brothers and their cousin Duncan of Carrick were given enormous land-grants in Ulster — plus the Westmorland lordship and the De Morville estates : Alan as one of the great landholders of England appended his seal to Magna Carta. Alan had 150 long-ships in the Solway in 1225 when he told Hakon of Norway that ships could pass as easily from Galloway to Norway as the other way round. Alan and Thomas waged a long and bitter war in Man and the Isles, Alan's Galwegians looting churches and killing priests in Man. Affreca of Man, a great-grand-daughter of Fergus and daughter of Godred King of Man, married John de Courcy, at that time Lord of Ulster.

Alan had two daughters by his first marriage, a son and two daughters by his second, and no issue by the third. His son Thomas seems to have died without issue during his father's lifetime : a daughter by the first marriage died a hostage in England : Elena by the first marriage married Roger de Quincy who in her right became Constable of Scotland. Their issue was Margaret, married to William de Ferrars, Elizabeth, married to Alexander Comyn Earl of Buchan and Elena, married to Alan de la Zouch : Christina, by Alan's second marriage, married William de Fortibus, later Earl of Albemarle, and inherited central Galloway including Kirkcudbright — Elena had inherited Wigtownshire : and Derbforgaill — the Gaelic means something like "of truly noble race" — her name Latinised as Dervorguilla — who married a comparatively minor Anglo-Norman nobleman John Balliol of Barnard Castle and inherited eastern Galloway, to which was added central Galloway on Christina's death in 1245 or 1246 : and Thomas, Alan's natural son, who on Alan's death in 1235 (Derbforgail had married in 1233) led a revolt, it being claimed by the Galwegians that Galloway could not be divided and that a man must rule them : defeated, returning to the attack a second time, captured and imprisoned, lived a very long life partly in prison and partly in the custody of his half sister Derbforgaill who was mother of King John Balliol and grandmother of King Edward Balliol (Fergus her great-great-grandfather was ancestor of the House of Stewart and so of our present Queen). Alan, by the way, was referred to in the notice of his death in the Annals of Ulster as "the last man to be called "Ri Gallghaidhil" " — King of the Galwegians.

Fergus knew personally two saints — St. Malachy of Ireland and St. Ailred of Rievaulx, and gave each land for an Abbey : he built up Whithorn : his successors built Lincluden, Glenluce. Tongland and New Abbey : the House of Nithsdale probably built Holywood Abbey — all of these on existing religious sites, and all devoted to the ascetic orders, the Cistercians and Premonstratensians — Malachy's Saulseat began as Benedictine but changed almost at once to Prémontré : in addition Uchtred, named as founder of Lincluden, was a great benefactor of lands in east Galloway to Holm Cultram Abbey in Cumbria.

So much for the rulers : what of their people? Our sources of information are different : not witnesses to charters or founders of abbeys, what we know of them is the testimony of their enemies, and couched in the exaggerated language of the time : but it is copious, and from many writers. Walter Espec asks King David — why is he warring against the Normans, who have helped him to rule the Scots with kindness and the Galwegians with terror? He describes them as not men but brute beasts, devoid of humanity and piety (as St. Ailred, speaking of his foundation of Dundrennan Abbey, says they are brutal, stupid and ignorant but he is trying to make monks of some of them — and this in the 1160s). They, without protective armour, defeat mailed cavalry at Clitheroe : they claim the right to fight in the front at the Battle of the Standard, again stating that they need no armour — and very nearly win the day : again and again we hear the phrase "raging past the manner of man" : they range furiously about bristling with arrows and still striving to kill — is this the berserk state? They spit infants on their spears, rip open pregnant women and tear out the unborn child : they wash their bloody knives and drink the bloody water, saying how fortunate they are to be able to drink the blood of Gauls (Gall, foreigners — they are Gaelic speakers) : they desecrate churches, cutting the top from the cross and putting the priest's head on it instead : they drive away hordes of young people as slaves and, when they have tired of the young women, exchange them with "other barbarians" (the Irish?) for cattle : "it is a wild country where the people are like beasts, and is altogether barbarous" : "there chastity founders as often as lust wills, and the pure is only so far removed from a harlot that the more chaste will change their husbands every month and a man will sell his wife for a heifer". "Since the natives in these parts live in pastoral huts and mean hovels, not in houses or foursquare buildings . . ."

Ailred visits Kirkcudbright in 1164 : the River Dee "flows through its suburbs with a smooth sweetness" : in the town he miraculously releases a man from an iron belt which he wore as a penance : the priests "called Scollofthes (scologs) in the language of the Picts" propose that they bait a bull donated to St. Cuthbert on the saint's patronal day : they agreed that the "little rocky church" was the Saints but persisted in starting the bull-baiting : the bull leapt straight at the man who had said this and gored him to death. Ailred is turning some of the men of these parts into monks of a sort : but "they are by nature dull and brutal and always inclined to carnal pleasures". Many of the writers call them Picts instead of Galwegians : this is so marked that they may have called themselves Picts — certainly it seems from the English reports that they may have had different marriage customs from most Scots.

In 1173-4 William the Lion leads an army "with an endless host of Galwegians — men agile, unclothed, remarkable for much baldness : arming their left side with knives

formidable to any armed man, having a hand most skilful at throwing spears, and at directing them from a distance : raising their long lance as a standard when they advance into battle'' : the charges against the Galwegians — often called Welsh by the writer — are repeated from the 1137-38 campaign — leading away captives, tearing the unborn infant out of pregnant women — almost word for word copies of the earlier account. William was captured : ''But Utred, Fergus' son and Gilbert his brother, when they heard that their lord the king of Scotland was taken, immediately returned with their Galwegians to their own lands, at once expelled from Galloway all the bailiffs and guards whom the king of Scotland had set over them (after the two fierce campaigns of 1160-61?) and all the defences which the king of Scotland had established in their land they besieged, captured and destroyed, and slew all whom they took within them''. We hear of the Galwegians despoiling Church property in the Carlisle area around 1213, and desecrating churches and killing priests in Man in 1228 — under Alan and Thomas. In fact we always seem to hear of the Galwegians under one or other of the ruling house — never on their own : at the Battle of the Standard they had been under Ulgric and Duvenald, who were killed. In 1212 Thomas plundered the coast of Derry with 76 longships and plundered it again in 1214, destroying the Abbey of Coleraine and building a castle from its stones. Thomas and his Galwegians figures strongly in the Accounts of King John, usually with ships : once John asks him to send ''three thousand of his Galwegians'' under experienced leadership. Thomas died in 1231. He had a son named Alan. The brothers Reginald and Olaf of Man, descendants of Fergus through his daughter Affreca, were rivals for the kingship of Man and in the winter of 1224 Reginald, being on the losing side, fled to Alan, taking a daughter with him : it is said that she married Alan's illegitimate son Thomas but it may have been the legitimate son, who died without heirs (the profusion of Thomases and Alans makes things difficult for the historian). Alan died in 1235 — ''in the same year the lord of Galloway died and his four sisters (it should be daughters) succeeded him But because the people of the land refused to permit a division of the fief, a great slaughter took place''. ''Many noble and bold men from the different regions of the western provinces, namely Galloway, and the island which is called Man, and the regions of Ireland, came together at the instance of Hugh de Lacy — whose daughter Alan of Galloway now deceased had united to himself in wedlock — on purpose to unite with one accord and to restore Galloway to the baseborn son of Alan aforesaid crushing with the strong hand the just disposal of the king of Scots, who had divided the inheritance among the three daughters, to whom belonged the hereditary right. That therefore the aforesaid rebels might reduce this division to naught, restoring the land to the aforesaid Thomas, or to the son (Patrick, Thomas' other son) of Thomas, Alan's brother, or at least to someone of that family, they gathered to arms and breaking out in rebellion desired to withdraw themselves from under the King's yoke [Uchtred in his Lochenelo charter of 1170 was clearly hoping to be free of the King of Scotland in the near future]. And that in attempting this they might more surely attain to their desire they made an unheard of covenant, inventing a kind of sorcery, in accord nevertheless with a certain abominable custom of their ancient forefathers. For all those barbarians, and their leaders and magistrates, shed blood from the precordial vein into a large vessel by blood letting : and moreover stirred and mixed the blood after it was drawn : and afterwards they offered it, mixed, to one another in

turn, and drank it as a sign that they were thence forth bound in a hitherto indissoluble and as it were consanguineal covenant, and united in good fortune and ill even to the sacrifice of their lives. So they challenged the king and the kingdom to battle, and burned their own and their neighbours' houses, that the king when he arrived with his army might not find lodging or food. And they applied themselves to plundering and burning, heaping injury upon injury''.

The King came to Galloway and defeated them, killing ''many thousands''. Thomas fled to Ireland and reappeared the next year in the Rhinns with a force of Irish kerns : he met no encouragement and surrendered. The Irish were put to the sword, two of their leaders being torn asunder by horses at Edinburgh. During this campaign the Scottish forces slew the Sacristan of Tongland Abbey at the high altar: the clergy of Whithorn, protesting to York against the imposition on them by the King of Scots of a Prior from the Borders over their own proper election of Odo, former Abbot of Holywood, write bitterly of ''the war now being waged by the King of Scots against Galloway''. In 1247 there was a revolt against Elena's husband Roger de Quincy in Wigtownshire : and the unique grave-cover at Dundrennan showing an Abbot with a dagger in his breast and a half-naked kilted disembowelled figure under his feet suggests that this unrest, twelve years after Alan's death and eleven after Thomas' final defeat, had extended into the Stewartry too. Like Duncan to the West, the House of Stranid sent forces regularly to help King John and as late as July 1212 we find payments in cash and kind to ''Edgar de Gaweia'', son of Duvenald, and his son Fergus and a reference to his brother Ewan's lands in Strathdoon.

Galloway had its own very simple wergeld-type law code some elements of which persisted as late as 1446 (it has resemblances to that other primitive law code the March Laws which applied from Dumfries Eastwards). Duncan lived longer than his cousin Alan — until June 1250 : he had four sons, Neil who succeeded him : John de Carrick who took Thomas' side in the 1235-36 rebellion but received the lands of Straiton : Alexander and Alan. His son Neil, Count of Carrick, died in 1256 leaving four daughters but no sons. One of his daughters, Marjory, succeeded him as Countess of Carrick : she married very young, was widowed in 1270, and a year later abducted the young Robert de Brus (the Competitor) while he was hunting, and married him (Duncan had abducted his wife, too) : their son King Robert de Brus named his daughter Marjory : she married the High Steward and her son Robert became King Robert II, first of the Stewart kings and so ancestor to our own Queen.

Thomas son of Alan lived to a great age, for in 1296 King Edward of England released him for a few days from Carlisle prison to sign an agreement on behalf of the ''Community of Galloway'', granting the Galwegians all their liberties and customs as these had been held in the time of King David and of the late Alan of Galloway. In 1300-1306 the ''Community of Galloway'' appears for the last time : ''The Community of Galloway supplicate the King and Council that as they are aggreed an annoyed by a strange an ''ycortenuse'' law called ''surdit de sergaunt'', disused since King Alexander's time and for a year before his death, which the barons and great lords of the country are now enforcing, he would give them peace therefrom seeing that the bulk of the ''Gaweleynes'' are the King's lieges and none other's, wherefore no great lord should impose such a burden on them.'' It was endorsed by Edward ''The Lieutenant and Chamberlain of Scotland are

commanded to inquire into the case and certify the King how it may be amended, to his benefit and the good of the people''. This shows continued resistance to normal feudal practice.

By the 1290's sources of names for the Galloway area become abundant, and we find the clan system well developed. The names are Gaelic with some Welsh admixture : and over the next two centuries this picture is confirmed — we hear of the Muntercasduff in Carrick — Muintir cais-dubh — the Blackfoot clan — they wore rawhide brogues of black Galloway cattle hide with the black hair out — and of Kenelmaine — Cinel Maine — Maine's Sept: and of the Greinours (chief men or captains) — of Clen Efren at Glenluce in the late 1200s : it seems very likely that all this existed in the time of Alan. The Kennedys of Carrick are ''the chiefs of the clan'' — and Neilsons and Kennedys in Carrick continue using the House of Galloway names — Fergus, Roland, Gilbert and so on. The old Galloway clearly had prestige and a mystique in the eyes of its successors.

It seems likely that the ruling house was of different background to the mass of its subjects : it is probable that Fergus and his successors spoke Norman French as well as Gaelic and — possibly — some Old Norse considering their probable Scoto-Norse descent and their continuing links with Man and the Isles : but fosterage seems to have been common and the rulers would absorb much of the culture of their subjects during their foster years. It has been suggested that there were continuing links with North Wales : this would fit the architecture of Gilla-Aldan's Whithorn : as mentioned, Brittonic (and Anglian) links were fairly common : Mrs Brookes' suggestion that Lochinelo-Lochkinderloch may relate to Gwenddoleu, such names as Gillecatfarch and the Gilendonrut Bretnach — the Briton, the British-speaker — of the Dumfries witness list are among them : and the hint in that witness list of 1160 that Gilchrist son of Brun might be the father of Waldef who later appears as Dean of Dumfries and that they might represent a hereditary priesthood like that of Northumbria where Ailred's father and grandfather, both named Eilaf, were hereditary priests of Hexham. I have mentioned the evidence that Stranid was just moving from Welsh to Gaelic and that Lower Annandale at least was probably still Welsh speaking when Brus took over in 1123-4. Mr Cormack has suggested to me that the strong preference of the House of Galloway for the Premonstratensian order in its monastic foundations may have been because that Order was in Wigtownshire more equated with the pre-12th Century church system than was that of the Cistercians.

Galloway of course had links with Cumbria across the Solway — partly through Uchtred's Westmorland lands : but Cospatric of Workington, whose two sons settled in Galloway in the late 12th century, was of Cumbrian/Northumbrian stock and had some family link with the House of Galloway. The common Galloway name-prefix of a- or ap- also has Welsh affinities and Owen/Ewen occurs in the Galloway area — there is one Howen. However varied the elements that made it up, this Galloway was clearly able to resist to a very considerable degree the forces of feudalization and maintain itself as an entity seen by its neighbours as very different to themselves. They are, as mentioned, frequently called Picts by the English : while certainly not connected with the historic Picts of N.E. Scotland the Gallghaidhil were certainly for a time based in the Southern Hebrides where elements of a near-Pictish culture have been found : they clearly had many

customs strange to their Southern neighbours (even King Robert Bruce was fostered as a child) : and we think of the King of Benbecula, whom a gloss to an Irish scribe's copy of Orosius describes in terms more fitting to West Africa than a European fringe — his feet must never touch the ground : no son of his could succeed him : he could not marry but had access to all the women on the island — were the customs which so annoyed the English clerics something like these?

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SWEETHEART ABBEY AND ITS OWNERS OVER THE CENTURIES

by

F. J. Stewart

For over three hundred years from the date of its foundation by Lady Devorgilla, Countess of Galloway, in 1273, Sweetheart Abbey or, to give it its full original title, "The Abbey of St. Mary of the Sweet Heart",[1] was owned by the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery. They were their own masters and owed no legal fealty to the Crown. The principal property, or main messuage, was, of course, the Abbey itself, together with the Monastery buildings attached to it on the south side and the precincts surrounding them, extending in all to some 30 acres of land and enclosed for the most part by a solid granite Wall, much of which survives to this day. (See Fig. 1, p. 68). Since these in themselves produced little or no income it was necessary for the Abbey to be endowed with further lands outside the precincts which the monks could either work themslves or lease out to third parties at a rent.

Over the centuries the Abbey did, in fact, acquire fairly extensive lands outside the precincts and these are listed in a Royal Charter of 1741[2]. It is not known exactly when they were all acquired but certainly the main ones were endowed by Lady Devorgilla as part of her original foundation, and most of the others were added fairly soon after. They are described in the 1741 Charter as "The Lands and Barony of Newabbay comprehending the Baronies and others aftermentioned at one time pertaining to the Benefice and Abbacy of Newabbay, otherwise Sweetheart, viz."

(i) "The Monastery and Place of Newabbay, with the whole houses, gardens, orchards, mill rights and others whatever previously pertaining to the said Abbacy and lying within the precincts thereof."

(ii) "The lands and Barony of Lochkindeloch, otherwise Newabbay, with the mill thereof . . ."

The Barony of Lochkindeloch was said to have been so called after "the Galloway chieftain, Kendelaedh, who had his fortified crannog in the lake at the foot of the great hill of Criffel, and where, on another island in the lake, stood the ancient parish church", but a more modern version suggests a connection with the Welsh St. Cynddelow.[3] The boundaries of the Barony and the old parish must have been very similar to those of the parish of New Abbey today. The 1741 Charter lists some of the lands within the Barony specifically, most of which are still easily recognisable — Landis, Glen, Drum, Corbellie, Lochley (Lochhill), Kinharvie, Glenson, Collengeth (Cullendeugh), and "the mark of land called 'Under the Wall' " (defined elsewhere as the land lying on the north side of the precinct Wall between the Wall and the Pow burn).[4]

1. Huyshe p.69 (sources and abbreviations are given at end of article).
2. Sh. Papers.
3. Huyshe p.70 and DGNHAS Vol. LXII, p.58.
4. Laing's Charters No. 702.

(iii) "The grain mill of Newabbay and the multure house thereof . . ., with the water and the waterworks or Dams connected, annexed and pertaining thereto." This was an item of importance as it produced a good income from its multures or mill rents. All the local farmers were obliged to bring their corn to the mill for grinding and to pay a fee for the privilege.

(iv) "The fuller's mill of Newabbay . . . lying within the lands of Barbeth." This was a small cloth or waulk mill, the remains of which can just be seen inside the entrance gate of what is now Kindar Lodge. It lies on the *western* side of the mill-lade which the monks built to run water from Loch Kindar to the grain mill, and should not be confused with the great factory known in the 19th century as Kindar Mills, built on the *eastern* side of the mill-lade.

(v) "The fishings for salmon and other fish near the mouth of the river Nith within the following boundaries: The lands of Little Bar and Inglestoun on the west; the lands of Ingleside on the east; the lands of Caerlaverock and Airds on the north; and the lands of Carshorn on the south."
This must have been a source of much income, nourishment and pleasure to the monks, particularly since the salmon at the mouth of the Nith were presumably more prolific before the introduction of stake-nets.

(vi) All the above lands, etc., lay within the parish of Lochkindeloch, so it is surprising to find that the Abbey's endowment also included "the 10 merk lands of Leachies with the manor places, towers, mills, fishings and tenancies in the county of Wigtoun", and "the lands and Barony of Kirkpatrick Durham, with the mill, mill lands and multures thereof". The latter was part of the original endowment by Lady Devorgilla.[5]

(vii) Finally, in addition to all this, the Abbey seems to have been granted from time to time the revenues and teinds of various churches, rectories and vicarages. It is not entirely clear what the revenues were or when they were acquired. Some may have been part of the original endowment, such as the churches of Crossmichael and of Kyrcum in the Rhinns (now Kirkcolm), while, following the destruction of part of the Monastery by lightning in the middle of the 14th Century, Archibald Douglas 'the Grim', then Lord of Galloway, arranged for the Abbey to be re-granted the revenues of the church of St. Calmonell of Botel (now Buittle), which it had previously enjoyed.[6]

These, then, together made up "the Lands and Barony of Newabbay pertaining to the Benefice and Abbacy of Newabbay, otherwise Sweetheart".

* * *

During the turbulent times following the death of James IV at Flodden in 1513 the monks decided to place themselves and their tenants under the protection of Robert, Master of Maxwell. In 1539 they appointed him heritable bailie of their lands[7] and on his death they appointed his son, John, who had since become Lord Herries in right of his wife

5. Laing's Charters No. 46.
6. Book of Caerlaverock ii 407, 417, 426; and also Prof. I. B. Cowan's *Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, 1967.
7. Book of Caerlaverock ii 468.

and held the important offices of Warden of the West Marches and General Justice of that district, to take his place. This was to pay off, for when Herries was commanded by the Lords of Congregation to demolish the church and Place of Newabbay he refused to do so. The Abbey, he said, was the place of his early education "quhair he was maist part brocht up in his youth" and he would not destroy it. The Lords of Congregation were presumably fully occupied elsewhere at the time and nothing more was heard of it. In gratitude, the monks granted a lease to Lord Herries in 1577 of the "Yle of Lochkinderlocht" (now Loch Kindar) "with all the fowlis that sall abyde and big thair", and the fishing on the said Loch, reserving the kirk and kirkyard to the parish to which it belongs.[8]

As the Reformation approached, the inhabitants of the Monastery had grown fewer in number and it became impossible for the monks, even with the help of their lay-brothers, to cultivate all the surrounding lands themselves, so they began to lease them out. In 1538 John Broun was appointed Abbot of Sweetheart. He was of the family of the Brouns of Carsluith and his father was Thomas Broun, tenant in the farm of Lawnes or Landis, lying about half a mile to the north of the Abbey. It is not known if Thomas's tenancy began before or after John's appointment but it was certainly before 1547 for in that year Thomas was granted further leases of several other farms in the district belonging to the Abbey. However, Abbot John soon realised that a bare lease gave insufficient protection to the tenant so, when Thomas died and was succeeded by his son Cuthbert Broun of Landis who was the Abbot's elder brother, he proceeded to convert all the leases into feus. About the same time he granted other feus to other relatives, a practice so comprehensively followed by his successor and first cousin, Abbot Gilbert Broun,[9] that by 1585 the whole countryside stretching out from the Abbey in every direction for a mile or more belonged to one member of the Broun family or another.[10] The Abbot and Convent remained Superiors of the various lands, but otherwise the feuars were full owners, subject only to the payment of a feuduty.

The rule of the Abbots finally ended in 1587, when Parliament passed an Act annexing all Church and Abbey lands to the Crown (James VI). The effect of this was that the rights of the feuars and tenants remained unchanged, but the Crown became the Superior in place of the Abbots and entitled to all the feuduties and rents. At the same time the Crown acquired ownership of the Abbey and Monastery buildings but as these were neither feued nor let and of no further use ecclesiastically, they were allowed to crumble and disintegrate slowly through neglect.

In other respects the Crown began to deal with its new acquisitions almost immediately. Among the Shambellie Papers is a Crown Charter under the Great Seal dated 12th May 1587, confirming feus of two crofts which had been granted by Abbot Gilbert to even more of his Broun relatives just two months before the Act of Annexation was passed. Other Royal Charters followed between 1588 and 1597 which either confirmed existing feus or recognised the rights of new feuars in properties which they had inherited or bought from the previous feuars.

8. Huyshe p.87.
9. DGNHAS, Vol XXVII.
10. Sh. Papers.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding the annexation of the Abbey and Monastery and the suppression of Catholicism, Abbot Gilbert Broun remained in the district for many years to come, "saying Masses, baptizing sundry bairns and preaching the Catholic religion". From time to time attempts were made to arrest him, but he escaped to France, though on one occasion he was imprisoned for a while. However, he kept returning to New Abbey and even as late as 1608 the Privy Council received a report alleging that he was resident in the Abbey, and there had "a daylie and frequent resorte of people unto him with quhome he intertenys the exercise of his popische and fals religioun".[11] A further attempt to arrest him at the Abbey by the guard from Dumfries was frustrated by "a convocation of a grite nowmer of the rude and ignorant people of the New Abbay who, armed with staves, muskets and hagbuts, in a tumultuous and unseamlie maner directly and avowedlie resisted his apprehension". However, his arrest was finally effected in 1608 by the King's Guard and, in the following year, a certain John Spottiswoode received a special vote of thanks from the Privy Council for his energy in apprehending and suppressing the popish recusants in the district, and "in going to the toun of New Abbay, and thair breaking up the chamber door of Mr. Gilbert Broun, sometime Abbot thairof, and haveing found a grite nomber of popische bookis, copes, chalicies, pictouris, imageis and such uther popische trasche he most worthelie and dewtiffulie, as becomes both prelat and counsellour, on a mercat day at a grite confluence of people in the hie streit of the Burgh of Dumfries did burne all those coapis, vestimentis and chalicies and delyverit to Maxwell of Kirkconnell all those bookis, upon speciall promeis that he should make thame forthcoming".[12]

This John Spottiswoode is of significance because he and his descendants were to play an important part in the future of the Abbey and the Abbey lands.

* * *

Although the Annexation Act of 1587 declared that all former Church and Abbey lands were to remain with the Crown "inalienably",[13] it was not long before King James realised that their revenues might be useful as a means of rewarding and assuaging his supporters in difficult times. The above-mentioned John Spottiswoode was clearly one of these. Born in 1565 he was already a well-known and influential episcopal churchman and in 1610, only a year after his raid on New Abbey, he was consecrated Archbishop of Glasgow, and then Archbishop of St. Andrews five years later. He was to crown King Charles I at Holyrood in 1633 and to become Chancellor of Scotland in 1635. During his lifetime he wrote a history of the Church of Scotland from 203 till the death of James VI, and was so highly thought of that on his death in 1639 he was buried in Westminster Abbey.[14]

There seems no direct evidence that Archbishop Spottiswoode received a grant from King James of the superiorities of lands in the Barony of Newabbey, but one source[15] states boldly that he bought them from the Crown and presented them to his son Robert, and this seems more than likely and that he did so shortly after his successful raid there. An Inventory of Deeds among the Shambellie Papers refers to two Charters of Confirmation

11. Huyshe p.91.
12. Huyshe p.92.
13. Sh. Papers.
14. DNB.
15. DNB.

dated 1613, one of the lands of Netheryett, Annatland and Wester Glen (all in the Barony), and one of the Green of Newabbey (today known more prosaically as "The Square") in the village itself. These were granted by Mr Robert Spottiswoode as "Abbot of the abbacy of Newabbay alias Sweithairt, with the special advice and consent of John, Archbishop of Glasgow, his father", which suggests that by that date Robert was Superior of at least some of the Abbey lands and, indeed, of the Abbey itself. The reason for requiring the consent of his father may well have been that he was only 17 at the time and under full age for executing deeds on his own.

Robert Spottiswoode seems to have been in great favour with King James from a young age. He was born in 1596 and was the Archbishop's second son and, after obtaining degrees at Glasgow University and Exeter College, Oxford, he studied Law on the Continent and returned to Scotland in 1622. He was immediately appointed a Privy Councillor and raised to the Bench, taking, significantly, the title of 'Lord Newabbey'.[16] It seems unlikely that up to this time Sir Robert (as he had now become) had right to the Superiority of more than a few selected properties in the parish, as the Crown continued to grant Charters of other neighbouring lands until 1623.[17] However, in 1624 he did receive a grant from the Crown, of the "whole Lands and Barony of Newabbay" as described above, with the exception of four farms — Landis, Barbeth, Glen and Collengeth. These farms had previously been feued to the Brouns of Landis (see above) and the Superiority of them had been granted by the King in or before 1612 to another young up-and-coming young man, John Hay, then Depute Town Clerk of Edinburgh.[18] Like the Spottiswoodes, Hay was a staunch supporter of prelacy. He now called himself "of Landis" and began to confirm or grant new Charters to his feuars or their heirs.[19] He later became Sir John Hay and was appointed Town Clerk of Edinburgh and then Lord Clerk Register and a Judge Ordinary.[20]

King James must have felt, however, that the Barony of Newabbey was an insufficient reward to Sir Robert Spottiswoode for his loyalty to the Crown. The Royal Charter of 1624 made an additional grant to him, "for services rendered to the King in private and public affairs", of the tiends and other pertinents of certain churches which had historically been part of the endowment of the monastery of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh. These were henceforth to be added to, and incorporated into, the Barony of Newabbey. They had recently belonged to Sir Robert's elder brother, Sir John Spottiswoode of Dairsie, described as "a gentleman of the King's bedchamber", but he had resigned them to the Crown (no doubt at the King's request), so that they could be passed on to Sir Robert. For the record, the churches concerned were those of Baro, St. Katherine of the Hoyes, Mountlothian, Dunrode, Keltoun, Ur, Kirkcormo, Kirkcudbright, Balmaghie and St. Martin's, otherwise Melginsh, together with their respective manses, glebes and church lands.[21]

The revenues from the various Baronies, lands, mills, churches, etc. acquired by Sir Robert Spottiswoode were considerable. By 1791 Grose, in his *Antiquities of Scotland*,

16. DNB.
17. Sh. Papers.
18. Laing's Charters No. 1784.
19. Sh. Papers.
20. DNB.
21. Reg. Mag. Sig. 1620-33, No. 572.

put them at £212.10.10½d, so it is not surprising that Sir Robert, or perhaps his father, the Archbishop, had had to pay the Crown £3,000 for the privilege of acquiring them. The 1624 Charter to Sir Robert is non-commital about this and he still had to pay the Crown a nominal feu duty of 20 pounds Scots.

These were times of religious upheaval, with the Crown trying to increase the influence of the Bishops against the more radical opposition of Presbyterianism. James VI died in 1625 and was succeeded by Charles I who continued the progress with vigour. In 1633 he erected the Town of Edinburgh into a City with its own episcopal see and its own episcopal bishop. The only trouble, however, was that the bishopric had insufficient revenues, so he decided to recover the Superiorities of all former Church and Abbey lands which his father had given away. Thus we find that in the same year both Sir John Hay and Sir Robert Spottiswoode "at the King's request" surrendered their lands to the Crown who promptly handed them over to the Bishop of Edinburgh. Sir Robert's £3,000 was not returned.[22]

Nevertheless, the Spottiswoode family were still in the ascendant. Sir Robert had become Lord President of the Court of Session and his father, Archbishop John, was trying desperately to dissuade the King from forcing the trappings of Episcopacy on an unwilling people too quickly. The fact that he failed led to the signing of the National Covenant in 1638 which resulted in the suppression of Episcopacy. Sir Robert was removed from the office of Lord President and Sir John Hay from that of Lord Clerk Register and both were charged with treason and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for a while but were liberated on lack of proof.[23]

The Superiorities of all lands owned by the Bishops were returned to the Crown and in 1641 King Charles, as if to emphasise his authority, made a new grant to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, over his personal signature, of "the Lands and Barony of Newabbay". This time he included not only the lands which Sir Robert had surrendered to the Crown in 1633 but also the lands formerly owned by Sir John Hay. He even added for good measure the Superiority of another Barony, the Barony of Dunrod which lay between Dundrennan and Kirkcudbright and was described as "comprehending the lands of Drummoresyde, Milton, Balmae, Balfix and the crofts called the Hallowcroft and Chapelcroft, with the mill of Dunrod and the multures thereof".[24]

But once again Sir Robert was not to hold them for long. the Civil War had started and he went to England to be with his Sovereign. While acting as the King's private secretary he was instructed to deliver personally to the Duke of Montrose the King's commission, appointing the latter his Lieutenant-governor of Scotland. Shortly after, they were both captured at Philiphaugh and Sir Robert was tried for treachery and publicly executed at St. Andrews in 1646. (By chance, Sir John Hay was also captured at Philiphaugh and tried, but was reprieved. He died in 1654.)

As the result of Sir Robert's conviction for treason his Superiority of the Abbey and

22. Sh. Papers.
23. DNB.
24. Sh. Papers.

its lands was forfeited and fell into abeyance, but at the Restoration the sentence was reversed and his son, Alexander Spottiswoode, an Advocate, applied to King Charles II and received a new Charter of the Lands and Barony of Newabbey in his favour. The Charter was dated 26th October 1660 and was again under the Royal hand. But the wheel of fortune turned full circle yet again. Episcopacy was re-established in Scotland by an act of 1662 and the Superiority reverted to the Bishop of Edinburgh once more. Several Charters of local properties were granted in the Bishop's name as Superior between 1666 and 1684.[25]

It was only after the Revolution in 1688 that the position was finally stabilized. All Episcopal lands and estates were restored to the Crown but the previous owners were entitled to reclaim them. It was stated that Alexander Spottiswoode would have done so, had he not unfortunately died in 1675 leaving an infant son, John.[26] This John, like his father and grandfather before him, was an Advocate and was to become a lecturer in Jurisprudence and the author of several legal treatises. In 1695, soon after attaining his majority, he applied to the Scottish Parliament for a grant of his father's estates in Newabbey, but "though his claim was acknowledged to be just", nothing happened. Thus the Crown remained Superior and went on collecting the revenues until John's death in 1728.[27]

He left one son, another John Spottiswoode, who took the final steps. In 1740 he raised an Action of Declarator in the Court of Session and managed to establish his title to the Superiority of the Lands and Barony of Newabbey and all the other Baronies, lands and revenues which had been granted to his great-grandfather, Sir Robert, in 1641. Thus, after a gap of exactly one hundred years, on 31st December 1741, John received a new Royal Charter from King George II.[28] Importantly, the Crown renounced its whole interest in the lands, once and for all, present and future, except that it would remain Over-Superior, subject to a feuduty of 20 pounds Scots, as before, payable annually at the feast of Pentecost.

Over the years which followed, John Spottiswoode proceeded to dispose of his interests piecemeal, mainly to the individual feuars. For instance, the Superiority of Shambelly was conveyed in 1758 to the then feuar of the property, Charles Stewart of Shambelly.[29] What were left were sold in 1768 to John Collart of Areeming and William Copland, younger of Collieston, Advocate, in equal shares.[30] Among the subjects sold to them specific mention was made of "the Abbacy place and lands within the precincts of the Abbey of Newabbay, with the houses, biggings, yeards, orchyeards, woods and others . . . but excepting always that part within the precincts allocated and occupied as the minister's glebe". John Collart soon conveyed his half-share to William Copland, who now became the sole owner of the Abbey, the Monastery buildings and all the land within the precincts except the glebe.[31]

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25. Sh. Papers.
26. Sh. Papers.
27. DNB.
28. Sasine regd. Ed. 19/2/1742
29. Sh. Papers.
30. Regd. B. of C. & S. (KR) 23/12/1768
31. Regd. B. of C. & S. (KR) 25/7/1772.

It is difficult to imagine what the place looked like at that time. There had been no interested owner of the Abbey and Monastery since the departure of the monks, and the buildings had been neglected for 200 years. The roofs would have fallen in early on and several walls collapsed, while part of the stonework had, no doubt, been plundered to build houses around the Green of Newabbey and elsewhere and the Monastery area where the cloisters had been was probably a mass of loose masonry and rubble. The date when the old parish church on the island in Loch Kindar was abandoned is not known, but it is likely to have been soon after the Reformation, for it had been a Catholic church, separate from the Abbey but appropriated to it, and its position on an island must have been inconvenient, even with a causeway leading from the mainland. It is thought that Protestant services were at first held in part of the abandoned Monastery buildings until, in 1731, a new parish church was built up against the outside wall of the Abbey itself on the south side of the knave — a curious place to put it, perhaps, but at least it was central. It was approached through an archway which remains to this day (though much altered), on top of which was a church bell. Attached to the north side of the arch was a two-storeyed cottage, known as the Bellhouse, and attached to the south side was the schoolhouse[32]. Also, it appears from the description above, that the precincts were rather more than a bare space of land, what with its "houses, biggings, yeards, orchyeards, etc."

No sooner had William Copland become sole owner than he sold the Abbey, the Monastery buildings and the precincts to two local people, William Newall of Poindfold, New Abbey and William McNish, milner in Newabbey.[33] Their purpose was quite clear. They intended to use the remaining stonework as a quarry and for this they paid a price of £440. It was, in fact, a feu by Copland rather than an absolute sale, which meant that even though the annual feuduty was a mere six pence he could enforce certain conditions, and the feuars were taken bound "to preserve, at least not to demolish, the tower and that other part of the Abbacy place called the Longkirk".

The new owners went to work with a will and it seems that most of the houses along both sides of the main street of Newabbey village were built at this time largely from stone taken from the old Monastery.

As the cloisters and other Monastery buildings disappeared the local people apparently grew concerned that the quarrymasters might forget the condition in their Charter. A new Minister, the Rev. William Wright, had arrived in New Abbey in 1769 and was worried by what he could see from the windows of his manse next door. He persuaded the local heritors to take action. A public Appeal was launched to prevent the demolition of the main Abbey building as a result of which a Contract was entered into in 1779[34] between Newall and McNish as Proprietors of the Abbey and precincts, and William Stewart of Shambelly and the Rev. William Wright as representing not only themselves but all the other subscribers to the Appeal as well.

This is a document of some interest. The Proprietors bound themselves and their successors "that they shall not at any time hereafter take down or demolish any part of

32. Huyshe p.110.
33. Regd. PRS Dumfries 19/1/1773.
34. Regd. Com. Books of Dumfries 26/4/1779.

the present building of the said abbay or Abbacy of Sweet heart otherways called Newabbay, excepting the Chapitor house or vault and all the already ruined buildings lying south thereof which they hereby reserve to themselves to be used by them as they judge proper, and that neither they nor any person in their name or right shall at any time hereafter lift, carry away, or use any stones from the aforesaid building, but such only as may happen to fall by the waste of time which shall be their property and at their disposal unless the same shall be built up or replaced within twelve months by the Subscribers or their successors . . .''

In consideration of this undertaking the Subscribers paid to the Proprietors a single sum of £42 sterling and bound themselves personally ''to uphold, at least never demolish, any part of the Abbay nor carry away any stones therefrom, nor make any additions to the same or rooff (over) any part of it or use any other freedoms therewith except to preserve it as much as possible in its present state and condition so that it may remain as an ornament to that part of the country''.

Thus the Abbey building was saved; even though the Monastery buildings were finally sacrificed. It is worth recording the names of the Subscribers who came to its rescue: ''The Rt. Hon. Dunbar, Earl of Selkirk; William Haggerston Maxwell Constable, Esq. of Nithsdale; James Murray, Esq. of Broughton; William Craik, Esq. of Arbigland; Richard Oswald, Esq. of Auchencrieve; William Stewart, Esq. of Shambelly; George Maxwell, Esq. of Munches; John Maxwell, Esq. of Terraughty; Robert Brown, Esq. of Milnhead; James and Mary Maxwell of Kirkconnell; John McCartney, Esq. of Halkerleaths; The Rt. Hon. Lord Linton; Ralph Riddell of Cheeseburn Grainge, Esq.; Mrs. Dorothea Riddell, sister of Mrs. Maxwell; William Glendonwyne, Esq. of Parton; The Revd. Mr. James Muirhead, Minister of the Gospel at Urr; The Revd. Mr. William Wright, Minister of the Gospel at Newabbay; Adam Craick, Esq. younger of Arbigland; Thomas Bushby of Ardwall; Thomas Stothard of Arkland, Writer in Dumfries; George Chapman, late Rector of the Grammar School, Dumfries; and Robert Riddell, Esq. younger of Glen Riddell.''

* * *

The Abbey, with what was left of the Monastery buildings and the precincts, remained in the ownership of Newall and McNish and their heirs for over 70 years until, in 1845, William McNish, nephew and nearest lawful heir of the original William, sold his half share in them to ''Alexander Oswald, Esq., residing at Cavins, Member of Parliament for the County of Ayr'' for £179. The Disposition[35] specifically included for the first time, ''that dwelling house called the Bell yetthouse'' (gatehouse) ''with garden behind the same at the west end of the Parish Church''.

It appears that this Mr. Oswald's purpose in buying a half share of the Abbey was to take some active steps to preserve the building or, at least, to tidy the place up. Since the abandonment of the old parish church in Loch Kindar the inside of the Abbey had been used as a graveyard and, in spite of the formation of a new graveyard east of the Abbey towards the end of the 18th century a few burials continued to take place within the Abbey, followed by the erection of tombstones of various shapes and sizes over the graves. In 1850 Mr. Oswald objected to the erection of a large monument in the south

35. Regd. GRS Edin. 28/3/1846.

transept and succeeded in having it removed to the graveyard outside.[36]

Nevertheless, although the fabric of the Abbey building had been saved from actual demolition in 1779 it seems that little, if anything, had been done to maintain it during the following 50 years. Even the newly created Board of Works became concerned and in 1852 sent their Architect to report on it. His Report was far from encouraging. "The Abbey", he wrote, "appears to be entirely neglected, is very ruinous and dilapidated, and bears no evidence of any recent attempts having been made for its preservation. Ivy and trees have been allowed to overrun a large portion of the ruins, especially towards the east end, and the roots of these have forced themselves into the joints, loosening and displacing the masonry". That this was no exaggeration can be seen from several drawings of the interior made a few years earlier (Billings' *Antiquities of Scotland*) which show 10 ft. high trees and shrubs growing along the tops of the walls and the east window almost entirely obscured by ivy. The Architect went on to recommend the removal of the ivy and vegetation at least partially from where it was producing the greatest injury, the securing of the loose portions of the ruins, and generally the pointing and repairing of the more dilapidated portions, all at an estimated cost of £400.

A public meeting (fully reported in *The Dumfries Courier* of 22nd May 1860) was held in Dumfries to discuss this Report and it was agreed unanimously to issue another Appeal for subscriptions as had been done in 1779. How successful it was is not known, but £136 was subscribed immediately by those attending the meeting and it was indicated that the Office of Works might double the total sum subscribed.[37] Certainly some, if not all, of the proposed repairs were carried out at that time and further deterioration was postponed.

In 1877 the present Parish Kirk was built just outside the southern boundary of the old Abbey precincts on land gifted by Major Julian Oswald. It was he who also arranged the demolition of the 1731 building set against the Abbey, together with the Bell yetthouse and the schoolhouse beside it, leaving the whole of the Monastery and cloisters area almost as clear as it is today. Following the end of the 1914-18 War space was found near the south-west corner of this area for the erection of a War Memorial.

And so to this century. Later generations of Newalls and Oswalds have continued to accept their responsibilities as proprietors of the Abbey. It was another William Newall and Mr R. A. Oswald who, around 1910, carried out further repairs at their own expense,[38] but they were much relieved when in 1924 they were approached by the Office of Works who offered to take over the Guardianship and maintenance of the Abbey completely, and an Agreement to that effect was signed three years later.[39]

Little remedial work was carried out at first, though the site of the Monastery and cloisters was finally cleared and some excavations took place revealing, among other things, fragments of Lady Devorgilla's tombstone which, after much restoration, was re-erected in the south transept of the Abbey.[40] However, in the 1950's more extensive repairs were

36. Sh. Papers.
37. S.R.O. MWI/375 & DD27/1085.
38. Huyshe p.140.
39. Minuted H.M. Chancery 6/4/1927.
40. S.R.O. MWI/376.

made to the Abbey building, all the walls being cleared of weeds, cracks filled in and mortar renewed; and in the 1970's the tower was stabilized. More foundations of the Monastery buildings were brought to light and the remaining upright tombstones within the Abbey itself were laid flat to facilitate the passage of the custodian's lawnmower.

* * *

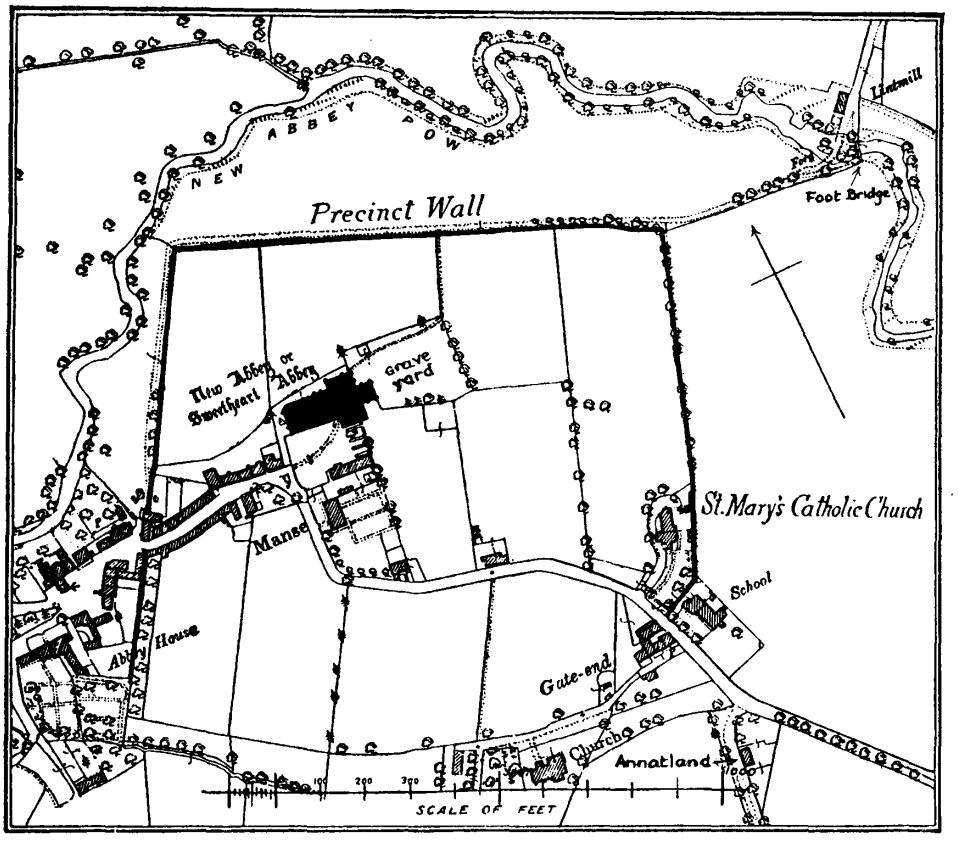

Fig. 1 Plan of the Precinct of Sweetheart Abbey (after Huyshe c.1900)

Finally, something must be added about the 30 acres of precinct land surrounding the Abbey (see Figure 1). From an antiquarian point of view the most important feature is the great granite Wall, twelve feet high and four feet thick, which contained the precincts on the western, northern and eastern sides. In spite of its complete neglect for at least 350 years its construction was so sturdy that much of it was still standing, more or less in its original state, as late as the 1920's. But suddenly it began to deteriorate, due, once again, to the growth of ash trees and ivy. The Office of Works were much concerned for they considered the Wall almost unique, but they felt that since it was officially only an adjunct to the Abbey they were prevented from taking any positive action until the Abbey itself came under their Guardianship. As soon as this was achieved in 1927 they started work on the Wall, even before obtaining the consent of all the contiguous

landowners. They were just in time. In 1929, 1930 and again in 1933 parts of the Wall collapsed and were immediately repaired.[41] Eventually a separate Guardianship Agreement was completed[42] but it was limited to parts of the western and northern sections of the Wall only. It was not until 1985 that the other half of the northern section and the whole of the eastern side, of much less consequence, were accepted into Guardianship. It is to be hoped that the final stretch of the Wall, south of the main road on the western side, which passes through private gardens and is therefore seldom seen, will soon follow suit, as it is possibly the best preserved section of all.

The area of 30 acres within the precinct Wall has, on the whole, remained remarkably undeveloped, being held in private hands continuously for over 400 years and nowadays used for grazing. It is bisected by the main road from Dumfries to Kirkbean and reference has already been made to the houses built on both sides of it along the village street. A few other houses have appeared from time to time along the north side of the road east of the Manse garden, and a cluster of cottages has grown up at Gate-end near where the Netheryett or lower gate in the Wall used to be.

In 1824 the Roman Catholic Church acquired 5 acres of land at the eastern end of the precincts.[43] These incorporated a long narrow field called the Longcroft on the north side of the road and also the field slightly to the south-west of it on the opposite side. On the former was built a Chapel (dedicated like the old Abbey to St. Mary) to serve the still flourishing Catholic congregation in the district.

The greatest changes, however, have occurred in the north-west quarter of the precincts. At some time, probably in the early 18th century, the fields immediately surrounding the Abbey and the Manse were designated Glebe Lands for the benefit of the parish Minister for the grazing of his cow and his horse. The first encroachment on them occurred not long after (before 1772 at least)[44] when an area to the east of the Abbey was walled off for use as a grave yard. This later had to be extended northwards right up to the precinct Wall in 1912.[45] The Glebe Lands were transferred to the General Trustees of the Church of Scotland in 1933, since when they have been made available for other selected purposes, the necessity for providing grazing for the modern Minister's cow and horse having presumably become less urgent than it used to be. For instance, in 1952, the County Council were given leave to erect Public Toilets in a small area near the west end of the Abbey,[46] and finally, some twenty years later, permission was granted for a car park and a bowling green to be laid out close by.

* * *

This has been a long, long story but it has covered a very long period. It is now over 400 years since Sweetheart Abbey was annexed by the Crown in 1587 and during many of those years it has suffered much neglect. Remarkably, however, it has remained in the hands of only two families for the past 150 years, the Newalls and the Oswalds, and

41. S.R.O. MWI/378.
42. Minuted H.M. Chancery 8/6/1933.
43. P.R.S. Dumf. 19/7/1824.
44. Sh. Papers.
45. Sh. Papers.
46. S.R.O. DD27/361.

it is due to their continued interest that it has survived at all. Their ownership today may, perhaps, be purely nominal, but it is a comfort to know that they have ensured that the responsibility of upkeep has been returned once again to the Crown, this time in the guise of the Scottish Development Department, under whose benign influence it will assuredly continue to be carefully "preserved as much as possible in its present state and condition so that it may remain as an ornament to that part of the country". Certainly, that is the hope of the 15,000 or more people who visit it each year.

Main Sources:

Huyshe	*Devorgilla, Lady of Galloway and her Abbey of the Sweet Heart.* W. Huyshe. 1913.
Sh. Papers	Papers in possession of the Stewarts of Shambellie.
DNB	The *Dictionary of National Biography.*
DGNHAS	*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, especially Vol. XXXVII, 'The Early Brouns in Newabbey'.
S.R.O.	The Scottish Record Office, mainly files from the Ministry of Works.

NEW ABBEY POORS FUND

by

Rev. William Holland

When we speak or read of the activities of the Kirk Session in the 1700s and 1800s most people think of the morally intrusive attitudes which have been made part of our mythology and used to blacken the name of "Calvinism". Certainly the Kirk Session was an instrument of discipline for the Church, State and Community. It could be argued that its discipline was not entirely negative. Properly understood and applied it was a means of restoring people to Church privileges who might otherwise have become outcasts. For this particular article I want to concentrate on a more positive aspect of the Kirk Session's work i.e. Poors Fund.[1] At this time the Kirk Session was the only regular welfare body; indeed they had a duty to provide for the Poor of the Parish and had corresponding rights to enable them to do so.

There were several people who had no one to help them. Most of them were widows whose families had left the district. Some of them were old men. They would be provided with food and fuel. The food would be meal for porridge; the fuel would be peat or coal. Some were children: the fund would pay someone to look after them; provide clothes and shoes; school wages, books and materials until they were age to take a job and support themselves. The Poor could be helped on a long term basis, and/or in an emergency.

It is proposed to reproduce a typical year's income and expenditure (1820) and to follow this with detailed expenditure on two children between 1818 and 1835. But first a note on the sources of income for the Poors Fund. These were:

Church Offerings

The offerings or collections at the Church door each Sunday were used for the Poors Fund.

Rent from Glensone Farm

Glensone Farm had been bought in 1755 with money belonging to the Poors Fund, the bulk of which had come from the mortification, valued at £156 sterling, of John Paterson, 'late Baillie and Merchant in Dumfries', who had died in 1719.[2] The farm was then let for rent which provided an income to the Fund. Some of the expenses of the farm had still to be paid out of the Fund e.g. dykes, ditches and drains. A school seems to have been maintained at Glensone, and certain scholars there and at Roadside, helped financially.

Fees for services provided by the church.

(1) *Proclamation* of a marriage.

Before people could be married their intention to marry had to be made public. At one time the only legal way was to have their names read out publicly, (or "cried") in the Parish Church on a certain number of Sundays. A fee was charged for this. the fee depended on the wealth of the person concerned. It might be as low as 1/- and as high as £1:1:0 for someone like Mr Stewart of Shambellie.

1. This paper is based on extracts from the Poors Fund and Kirk Session Records of New Abbey Parish Church in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

2. According to the New Statistical Account, Glensone was bought at a cost of £220 of which, as stated, £156 came from a mortification by "Baillie Paterson" who is also stated to have been a native of the Parish and to have erected the bridge at the entrance to the village from Dumfries in 1715.

(2) *Mortcloth:*

At funerals it was usual to cover the coffin with a piece of material while it was being carried to the graveyard. To save each family having to buy one the Kirk Session provided one which could be hired for a small fee, usually 1/- or 2/-. This cloth was referred to as the *Mort-Cloth*.

(3) *Baptisms:*

When a baby was baptised a donation was made to the poor fund by the parents according to their means. In the late 1800s a baptismal gown was made which could be hired out in the same way as the mortcloth.

Fines

The Kirk Session was a court of the land as well as a court of the church. As such it was responsible for dealing with certain offences. The fines it imposed went into the Poors Fund.

Moss Mail:

The Kirk Session owned a peat moss. Anyone wishing to dig peat for fuel had to pay a rent to do so.

Interest:

The Kirk Session sometimes lent out money from the fund. the person to whom the money had been given would pay interest each year as well as repaying the original loan.

Income for 1820

		£ s d
February		
	Rent for Glensone Farm	40:—:—
	Collections	4: 1: 6
	Other income from Glensone	:10: 6
	Mort cloth	: 6:—
April		
	Fines	1:10: 6
May		
	Baptism	: 1: 6
June		
	Collections	6: 3:—
	Proclamation fees	1: 7:—
	Rent for Glensone Farm	40:—:—
July		
	Mort cloth	: 2:—
	Collections	6:—:—
October		
	Moss Mail	24: 8:—
	Proclamation fees	:10: 6
November		
	Proclamation fees	1:10:—
December		
	Collections	4:11: 8
	Proclamation fees	: 5:—
	Interest on loan	13:10:—
	Proclamation fees	: 5:—
	Proclamation fees	: 2:—
	Baptism	: 2: 6
	TOTAL	£145: 6: 8

Expenditure in 1820

		£ s d
January		
7	Glensone school salary	1:10:—
	Precentor for 1 quarter	:15:—
	Bell gate repairs	: 1: 2
	Widow Walker in straits	: 2:—
February		
2	G. McKnae for attending aunt J. McKnae	: 3:—
	Janet McCartney's coffin & grave	1: 3:—
13	G. McKnae as above	: 3:—
	J. Ireland in distress	: 3:—
	For nursing B. Loughlin's child	: 5:—
19	J. McKnae in straits/Widow Walker	: 5:—
22	B. Loughlin's child nurse for fortnight	: 7:—
26	G. McKnae & J. Ireland	: 2: 6
	J. Lowrie	14: 3:10
March		
3	Officer and precentor	1:11:—
	Meal for poor	6: 5:—
	Peats for W. Paterson	: 6:—
	Payments of 10/- each to 16 people[3]	8:—:—
4	G. McKnae	: 3:—
11	J. McKnae's coffin and funeral	1:—:—
	Glensone poor scholars	1:—: 2
13	J. Tait in straits	: 1:—
27	Stone dyke at Glensone	3: 6: 3
April		
19	Roadside dyke at Glensone	: 9: 4
29	Board Gracie's child ½ year	4:10:—
June		
1	15 payments of 10/-[4]	7:10:—
10	Glensone poor scholars	:13:—
14	Meal 37 st. at 2/6	4:12: 6
15	Making of moss road	2: 8:—
	Rbt. Milligan for Glensone	8:18:—
20	Mr McKie's salary/School wages M. Mein	: 8:10½
	Glensone stipend	1: 4: 2
	Glensone dyke	4: 6:—
August		
30	School salary & wages for Glensone	2:15: 3
	14 payments of 10/-[5]	7:—:—
October		
3	Clothes for M. Gracie	: 4: 6
	Glensone salary	: 4: 6
	Roadside salary & poor scholars	1: 7: 4
	Peats & meal for poor	8:15: 9
	Sundries	6:13: 9
November		
	Board for M. Gracie	4:10:—
	14 payments of 10/-	7:—:—
December		
13	Rent for W. Paterson	1:—:—
	Officer and precentor	1:11—
	Coal for W. Williamson & Janet Brown	: 8:—
	TOTAL	£128: 4: 1½

3. To W. Paterson, Mary Kerr, Janet Briggs, Jean Newal, J. Burney, Widow Craik, J. Creggan, Widows Lowrie, Walker, Hunter, J. Black, Janet McKnae, Mary Anderson, Janet Graham, Betty Coleman, J. Ireland.

4. As in March, less Janet McKnae.

5. As in June, less Jean Newal.

Expenditure on particular persons

In the years 1818 to 1835 two girls were supported by the Poors fund. They were Mary Gracie and E. Williamson.

The beginning of this section lies in a discipline case as recorded in the Kirk Session minutes.

> New Abbey Church. 1st Feby 1818: "Compeared Mgt. Gracie, Townhead, an unmarried woman acknowledged being with child, accused Jas. McAdam in Townhead, a married man as father of her child. Summoned to appear in a fortnight, as was Jas. McAdam."
>
> 15th Feb 1818: Jas. McAdam summoned but did not appear. Summoned him a second time "this day eight day". Also Mgt Gracie.
>
> 22nd Feb 1818: Neither appeared. Summoned for "this day sixnight".
>
> 29th Feb 1818: Jas. McAdam did not appear and was declared "contumaceous".

Regular payments were then made to a woman called Rosy Donachy from June 1818 to June 1819. The Kirk Session record in June 1819 shows:

> "The Moderator produced an account of payment to Rosy Donachy for a year's nursing Margaret Gracy's child from 9 June 1818 to 9 June 1819, £10:10:00, and as . . . Donachy offers to keep the child at 2/6 a week and its grandmother desires to have the keeping of it, the Moderator wishes to have the opinion of the Session in the matter. The Session advises the child be kept by Donachy in the meantime at her offer of 2/6 a week".

Payments for MARY GRACIE and E. WILLIAMSON 1818-1835

				£ s d
1818	Apr	25	Gracies in distress 2/- & 3/-	: 5:—
	May	16	Gracies	: 2:—
		27	Margaret Gracie's coffin	1:—:—
1819	June		Kirk Session agree to pay Rosy Donachy for a year's nursing of Mgt. Gracie's child	10:10:—
1820	Apr	29	Board for Gracie's child	4:10:—
	Sep	1	Clothes for Mary Gracie	: 4: 6
	Oct	27	Stockings 1/8, Bonnet 3/- MG	: 4: 8
	Nov	27	Board MG	4:10:—
1821	Jan	30	Clothes MG	: 2: 4
	Mar	29	3 Pinafores MG	: 2: 4
	Aug	10	Board MG	4:10:—
	Dec	27	4 Shifts 3/-, Clogs 1/10, Pinafore 1/6 MG	: 6: 4
1822	Jan	22	Board MG	4:10:—
		30	2 pair new shoes & mending MG	: 5: 6
	Jul	30	Board MG	3:10:—
1823	May	8	Book MG	: 2:—
	Jun	16	Making clothes MG	: 1: 4
		19	Board MG	3:10:—
	Aug	7	School wages MG	: 2:—
		27	Clothes MG	: 8: 7½
	Dec	1	Pinafores MG	: 2: 6

				£ s d
1824	Aug	10	1 pair shoes MG	3:10:—
	Nov	16	Mending shoes MG	: 2: 6
	Dec	23	Board MG	2:15:—
			Clogs MG	: 2: 3
1825	May	14	2 Pinafores MG	: 2: 3
	Jul	12	Board MG	2:15:—
	Nov	28	Spelling Book MG	: 1: 3
			Clothes MG & EW	2:13: 0½
1826	Jan	12	Board & clogs MG & EW £5:10 and 4/10d	5:14:10
	Jun	27	Board	5:10:—
	Sep	26	Bible MG	: 3: 4
	Dec	5	Clothes	:12: 2
		26	New Testament EW	: 2:—
1827	Jan	10	Board	5:10:—
	May	16	Clothes	1: 8: 9½
	Jul	11	Copy, quills & ink MG	:—:10
		24	Board	5:10:—
	Aug	4	Quills MG	:—: 6
	Oct	18	Sewing School wages MG	: 3:—
	Dec	29	Board	5:10:—
1828	Feb	28	INGRAM's Arithmetic MG	: 1: 6
			Clogs	: 4: 6
	Jul	28	Shoeing clogs 4/-, Board £5:10:—	5:14:—
	Sep	24	Medicine MG	: 7:—
	Oct	28	Clothes 19/9, Sewing school wages 7/-	1: 6: 9
	Dec	22	Board	5:10:—
1829	Feb	17	Clogs	: 5:—
	Jul	23	Board	5:10:—
			Paper MG	:—: 6
	Dec	25	Board	4:10:—
1830	Jan	22	Drugget frocks 17/9, sewing wages 9/6d	1: 7: 3
			Shoes MG	: 3: 6
	Feb	2	Cotton frocks	:13: 2
	May	4	Paper MG	:—: 6
	Jul	7	Board	5:10:—
		20	Paper EW	: 1:—
		27	Shoeing clogs	: 2: 6
	Aug	7	HUTTON's Arithmetic EW	: 2: 6
	Sep	25	School wages	:14: 4
	Dec	11	Pens & paper EW	: 1:—
		24	Board EW	2:15:—
1831	Jan	7	Clothes EW	:11: 7½
	Feb	24	Slate EW	:—: 9
	May	3	Board EW	1:—:—
	Jun	10	Clothes 12/6d, Board £1:15:— EW	2: 7: 6
	Aug	23	School wages EW	: 9: 6
			Medicine MG	: 4:—
	Nov	29	Board EW	2:15:—
			Clogs & stockings 5/-, clothes 11/4d, 1/2d	:16: 4½
1832	Jan	14	Chest EW	: 7: 6
	Mar	26	Mending shoes	: 1: 4
	Sep	24	Chest MG	: 7: 6
	Dec	6	Petticoat MG	: 2: 3
1833	Sep	7	Bible EW	: 4: 6
1834	Oct	8	Mary Gracie in need	: 5:—
1835	Jan	24	Mary Gracie in need	: 2: 6
	Mar	4	Mary Gracie in need	: 2: 6

Comments

It is difficult to get a straight comparison in costs from the 1820s to the present. Some costs are relatively lower while others are higher. We can try to compare different commodities within the period or at different times.

The amounts paid for board vary over the period. In the first year the nurse was paid £10:10:00 per year. The next four years it was £9:00:00. From 1824 to 1834 it was £5:10:00. I think this reflects the fact that the child was at school during the day, and was able to do work to help pay for her keep. It may also reflect a drop in the cost of living.

One of the major comparisons we can make is between footwear and medicine. Clogs and shoes cost about 2/- to 2/6. Medicine cost 7/- and 4/-. School books cost 1/6 to 2/6.

These children were provided with the full range of requirements for their keep and education i.e books, slates, paper, quills, pens, and extra payments for sewing school.

These payments lead us to say that the children supported by the Poors Fund were probably better educated than some of the other children whose fathers were in work but without the income or the inclination to provide fully for their children.

At the end of the schooling period a chest or "kist" was provided. This suggests that employment in service was also found for the girls. We cannot help but be aware of the benefits that came to these two young girls.

In contrast "Pensioners" were paid 10/- twice a year, making £1 in all; although they probably also received an allocation of meal and either peat or coal.

This article gives a fascinating glimpse of the working of a Kirk Session Poors Fund in a country parish in circumstances far removed from our own times. In this case the Fund had extra endowment from Baillie Paterson's Mortification and was well managed.

GARROCH WATERPOWER SCHEME : PART V
BARBURGH MILL

by
Richard J. Clarke *
Ashwood, Closeburn, Thornhill

Introduction

The earlier papers in this series have dealt mainly with the limeworks waterpower scheme centred on Park village. These showed how the water from the Garroch in the hills was led through a number of units, generating power for haulage, sawing, etc. The water finally ran into the Lake Burn, which runs South from Wallace Hall. It was used once again, before it merged into the River Nith, to power the industry at Barburgh Mill. This paper described the water system and the mill.

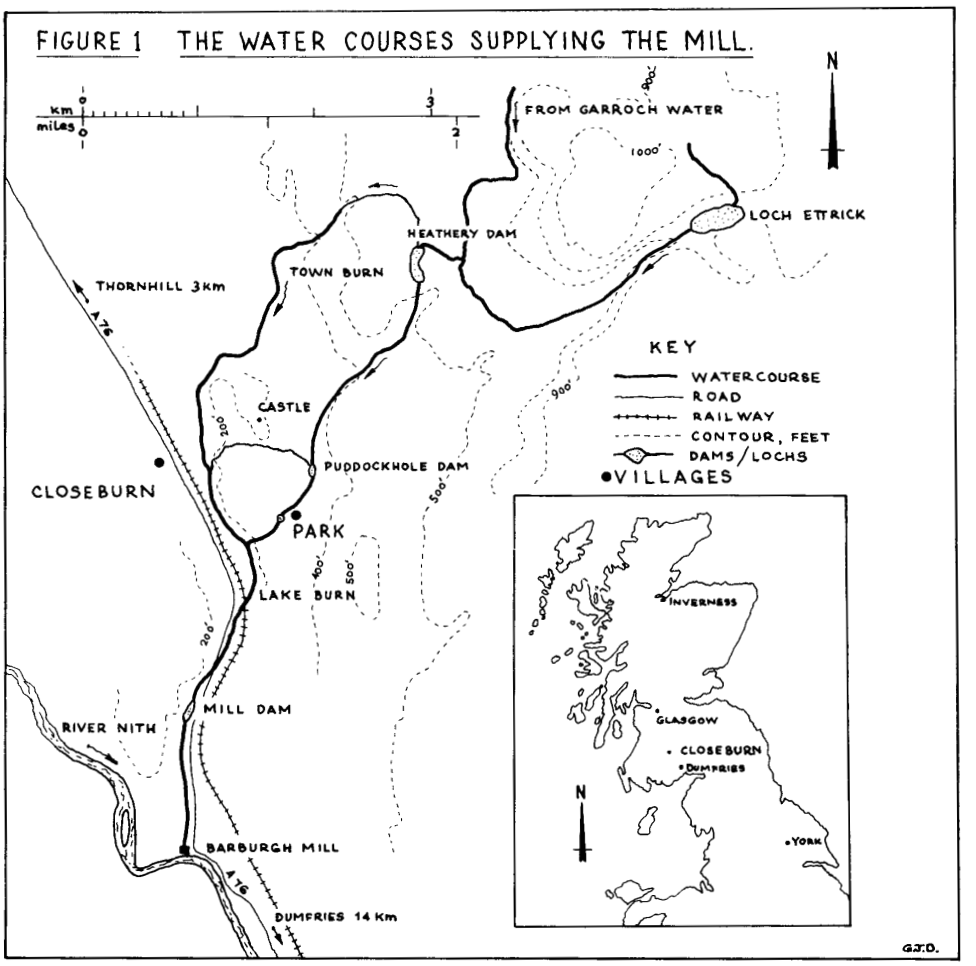

Fig. 1

* This paper was submitted in draft shortly prior to the author's much regretted death at the end of 1989. It has thus not had the benefit of any corrections or proof checking by him. (Editors).

This is a brief treatment, because there is very little about the mill in the records, apart from some map entries. The dimensioned working drawings supporting the Figures are filed by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland and can be consulted there by anyone interested in the buildings.

There is some confusion in spelling the name, and some older maps and writings have names like Burbrough or Barbaroch. Present accepted practice is Barburgh, which will be used here.

Geography

Barburgh Mill is about 4km south of Closeburn, on Road A76 at Map Reference NX 901884, on a bend in the River Nith. Figure 1 is a map of the area and the watercourses converging on the mill. The mill is not powered by the Nith, but by a stream coming from the North, along the line now followed by the railway and the A76 road. This stream is the continuation of the Lake Burn, into which the spent water from the Park Limeworks waterwheel discharged, having travelled some 250 metres underground from the wheel in a tunnel. The Lake Burn can be seen from Figure 1 to have had a fairly large catchment area, covering the high ground to the North and East of Closeburn Castle. It included the 'back' overflows from Heathery Dam and Puddockhole on the limeworks system. Under wet climatic conditions it is possible that the Lake Burn had a bigger water flow than the Park wheel.

During the glacial era it seems likely that the ice cut a ravine along the present line of the A76, which later became the line of the Lake Burn. The ice would also have created the widening in the cut which was later made into the North dam, at MR 901895, shown in Figure 2. There was a South dam, at MR 901885, and several sluices on the system. The flow was split to give a lade through the farm at Stepends, which would appear to have provided threshing power to the end of the long building. Finally the main lade ran to the mill building, through a further dam.

The water ran through the mill wheel, and discharged into the River Nith. The point of discharge is called Lintmill Pool in the maps of 1858 and 1899. This gives a hint that there had been a mill there for some time, and that it was a linen mill.

History

Records of the mill are almost non-existent. The best information comes from two Ordnance Survey maps, of 1858 and 1899, drawn at 25 inches to the mile.

Since the mill is supplied partly by the spent water from the Garroch limeworks scheme at Park, it could be assumed that the mill was designed in connection with the Garroch scheme, reflecting the typical energy of Charles Stuart Menteath, who created it. The Garroch scheme appears to have been built 1790-1810, and it is possible that Barburgh Mill was built at the same time, with the water systems linked.

There is some doubt whether Barburgh was a linen mill or a woollen mill. Local opinion, which remembers the more recent situation, is that Barburgh was a woollen mill, making blankets up to the 1939 war. It was closed in the early 1960s. The locals speak of the good income at earlier times of Auchencairn Farm, about 3km away, from sales of their large wool crop to Barburgh — date unspecified but perhaps up to 100 years ago.

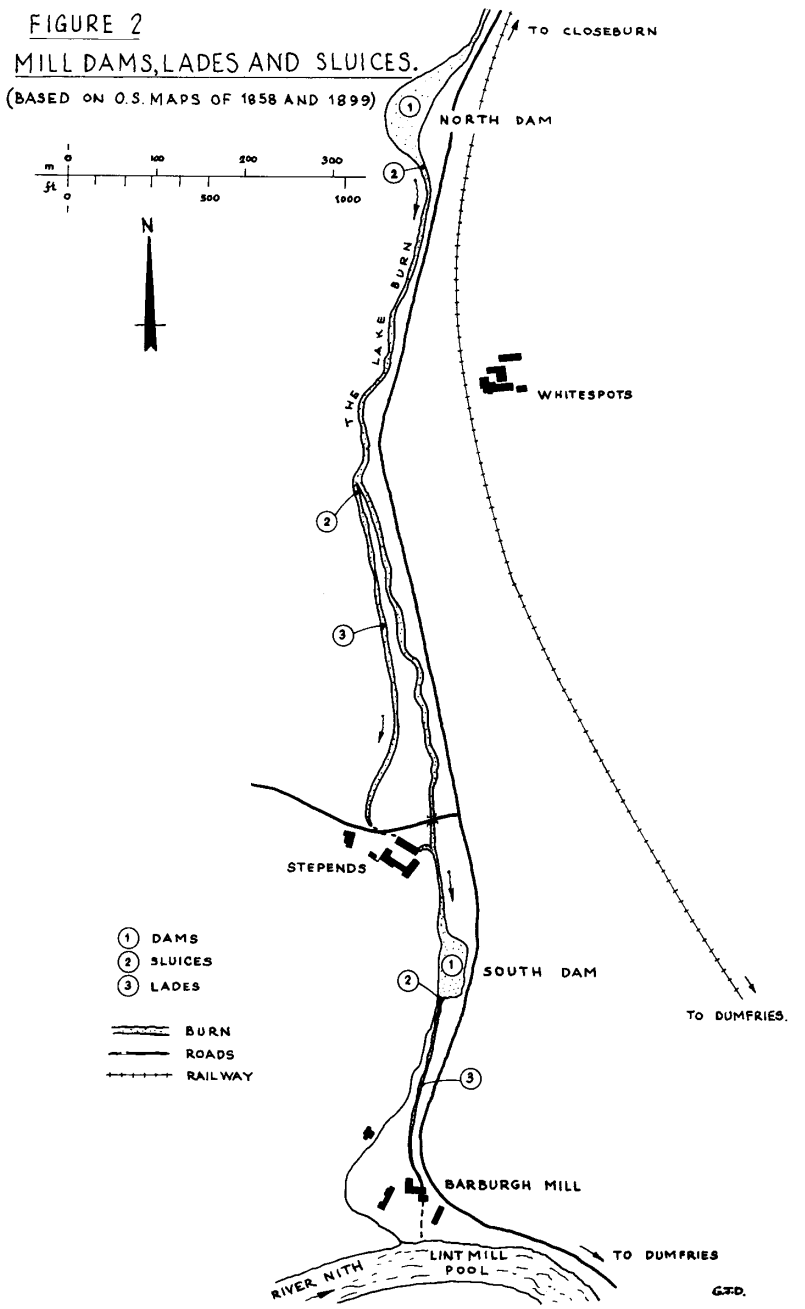
FIGURE 2
MILL DAMS, LADES AND SLUICES.
(BASED ON O.S. MAPS OF 1858 AND 1899)
m 0 100 200 300
ft 0 500 1000
N
TO CLOSEBURN
NORTH DAM
THE LAKE BURN
WHITESPOTS
STEPENDS
SOUTH DAM
TO DUMFRIES.
BARBURGH MILL
LINT MILL POOL
TO DUMFRIES
RIVER NITH
G.T.D.
1 DAMS
2 SLUICES
3 LADES
BURN
ROADS
RAILWAY

Fig. 2

There are however some very strong points indicating a linen mill. The most definite is the award of a £30 premium to Charles Stuart Menteath in 1784 by the Board of Trustees for Manufacturers. This body was specially concerned to reward technical developments in the linen industry. The record says that the award was towards a lint mill on his estate and a note has been added that this was almost certainly of recent construction. The date of 1784 is of course fairly close to the date of Menteath's Garroch limeworks project (c 1790) and there may have been a link. Menteath had owned Closeburn for only about a year at that date, which illustrates his activity in developing his property.

The Ordnance Survey name book of 1856 states of Barburgh '. . . in former times there was a lint mill here.' This indicates that the mill had been a lint mill (= linen mill) but it was now something else, probably a woollen mill. The wording indicates that the change was several years earlier, perhaps about 1800. The 1858 25 inch map has 'Bobbing Mill' against the Barburgh buildings. This is a very unusual term and might be taken for an error for Bobbin Mill. The latter term was applied to wood-turning factories, who made wooden bobbins for textile mills. In the 1899 map Barburgh is shown as a 'woollen mill'. There is no other evidence of a bobbin mill at the site. A much earlier map, of 1804 by Crawford, shows Barburgh as a lint mill. The point has been made that the place of discharge into the Nith was called Lintmill Pool on both the 25 inch maps.

There is a small point on the appearance of maps of 'lintmill pool' which might otherwise be taken as confirming the existence of of a linen mill. A local water bailiff says that there are a number of 'lintpools' on the River Nith. These were used in former times by the folk in cottages near the river, who were producing linen in their homes, to rot (rett) the flax before processing.

An additional point in this discussion is the fact that the linen industry was declining and wool advancing in the early part of the 1800s. It is possible that the Closeburn estate converted Barburgh linen mill to wool somewhere about 1800-1850.

The next set of records available is the Valuation Rolls, the earliest being for 1862. Some names now become available. The entry is for 'Barburgh Mill and Houses', giving the owner as Baird, who succeeded Menteath as owner of the Closeburn estate. John McKerlie, a local farmer from Lintingstane, is given as tenant and the rent was £35. This situation continued for a number of years, with a change of owner to 'Trustees of Villiers' at a change of ownership of the Closeburn estate. Alexander and John Cowan became tenants. The rent rose steadily, peaking at £71.9.4. in 1885-86. Entries of 'weavers' start to appear as tenants with John Cowan. In the 1900 entries John Elliot was the tenant. John McKerlie ceased to be tenant of Barburgh in 1873-74, and appears as tenant of Cample Factory, which lies on the Cample Burn, halfway to Thornhill. This was a woollen factory or mill, and it is reasonable to suppose that McKerlie ran woollen factories at both sites at different times. The Closeburn estate owned both the mills.

A point which may link these facts is that a tombstone in Dalgarnoch burial ground — a little hard to read — says that John Sirocho, who died in 1856, was the lessee of Closeburn Factory Mill for 40 years. This is assumed to be Cample Mill. The dates indicate that this mill was going by 1816, a date which approaches Menteath's building of the Garroch scheme and could even link with the building of Barburgh in 1784.

Local opinion is that Cample produced woollen cloth from the start. It was burnt down in 1880, but rebuilt.

All this rather confusing information seems to add up to the fact that Menteath built Barburgh about 1784 as a linen mill. Some time in the 1800s it became a woollen mill and there may have been some connection with Cample Mill. It remained a woollen mill until its closure in this century.

FIGURE 3 SITE PLAN (FINAL PHASE)

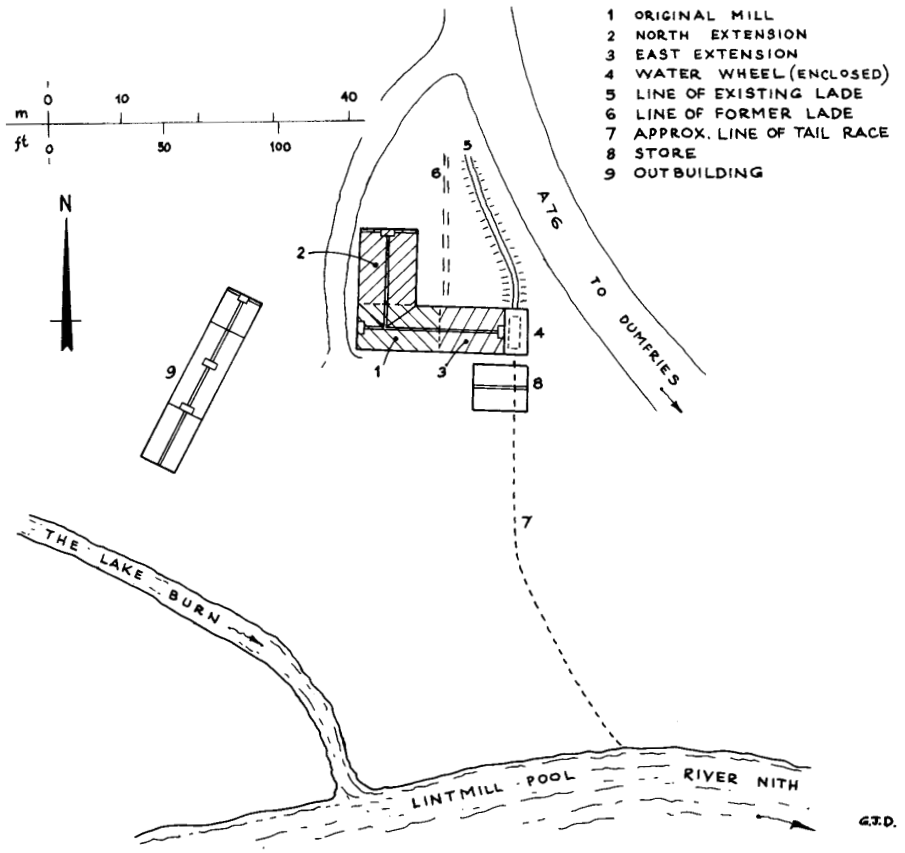

Fig. 3

The Buildings

The site plan in Figure 3 shows the mill as an L-shaped structure, composed of three blocks, 1 to 3. Examination shows that each of these blocks was built separately, and they all differ in constructional detail. Block 1, the original mill, was extended Northwards by Block 2. Block 3 was later added to the East. Figure 4 is a general view of the building from the South-West, which brings out points on the change in the building during extension, such as the window design. Details such as wall heads and alignment of quoins indicate the sequence in which the three blocks were built.

FIGURE 4 GENERAL VIEW FROM SW OF MILL BUILDING.

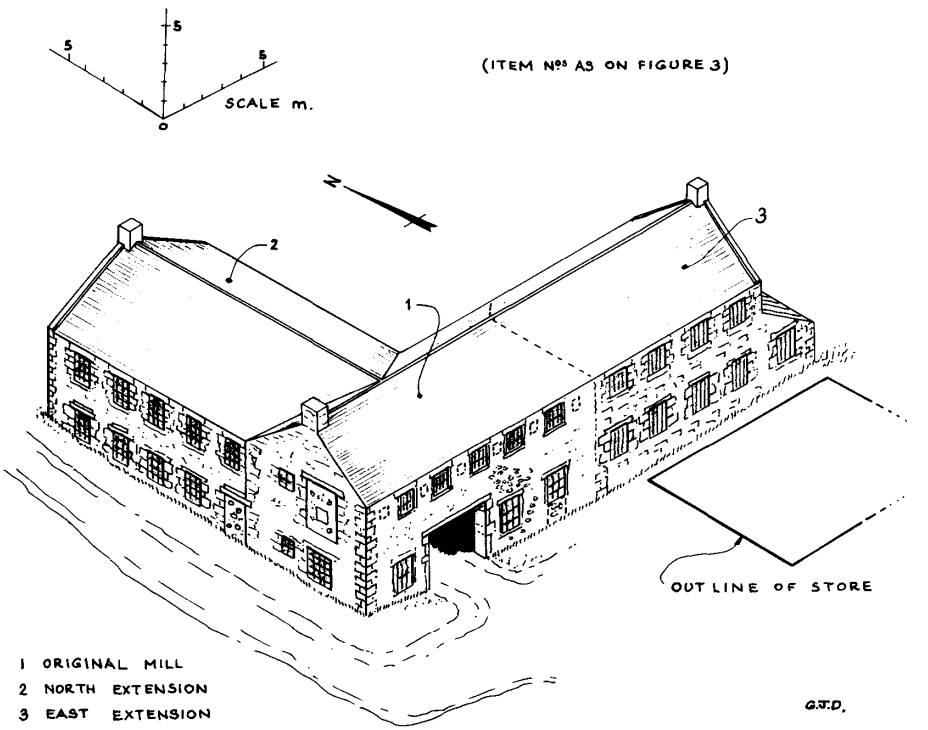

Fig. 4

The 1858 map, shown in Figure 2, shows clearly that the lade originally ran in to the mill along the East side of Block 2, while in the 1899 map it had been re-aligned to reach the building at the East end of Block 3. This means that Block 3 was built between 1858 and 1899.

Figure 5 is a general view of the building from the North-East, which shows the building points already made and the shape and position of the waterwheel house in the last, 1899, layout.

Water System

In 1858 the North mill dam was in the ravine, 1250 metres North of the mill at Map Reference NX 901895, where there was a sluice and a caul. Lower down a lade went off to Stepends Farm, but the main flow continued to the South dam, 240 metres North of the mill, at MR 901885. Here two sluices controlled the flow down the mill lade into the mill. From the wheel the water flowed directly into the Nith.

The 1899 map shows the mill dams as out of use and the lade much as before, except where it is curved at its Southern end to take it along an earth-and-concrete bank to reach the mill at the East end of Block 3. The levels had to be arranged to feed the water about half-way up the building height, because the wheel was overshot.

FIGURE 5 GENERAL VIEW FROM NE OF MILL BUILDING.

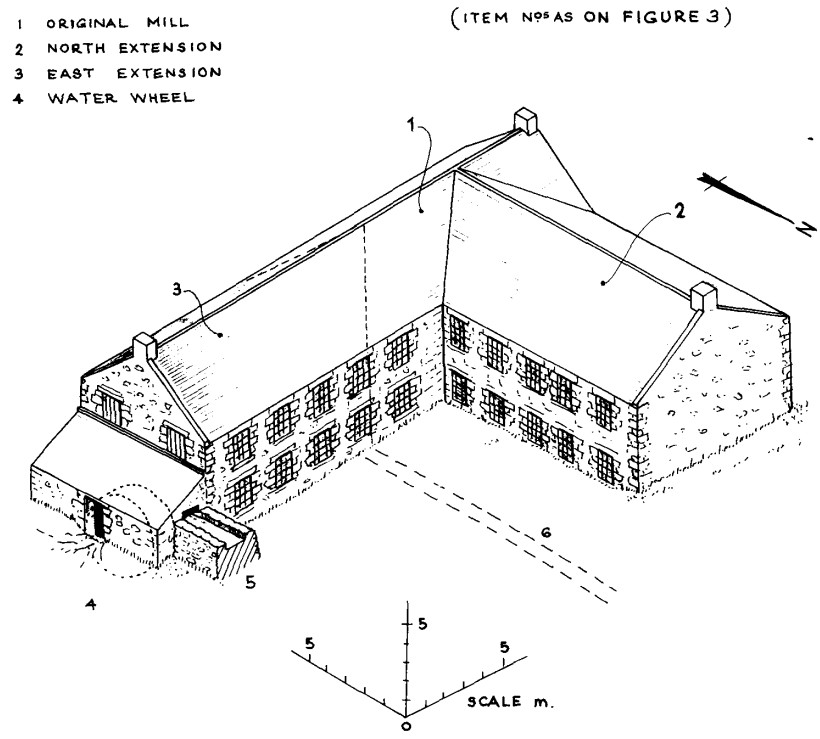

Fig. 5

G.T.D.

The Wheel

Figure 6 shows a sketch of the wheel as it was when it last ran. It was placed in a wheel house, which was a lean-to of the main building. The wheel was 3.66 metres (12 feet) in diameter, 1.0 metre wide.

There are 32 wooden buckets, set for overshot operation. The rim is cast iron, arms wrought iron, as is the shaft, which is carried on cast iron bearing blocks. One end of the shaft passes through the gable end of Block 3 to provide the drive into the mill. A 1.1 metre cast iron gear is mounted on the shaft and it is assumed that this was meshed with shafting which drove the mill machinery.

The water controls at the wheel largely survive and are shown in Figure 6. The height and angle of the trough could be adjusted by rotating the rods which wound up the chains, and hence altered the line of the spillway. There was in addition a bypass system with an on-off door which dropped the water short of the wheel when it was not required. From the wheel the water ran down to the river Nith.

The waterwheel is decaying but it is still in fairly good order and could be salvaged and reconditioned if funds and skill were available.

FIGURE 6 WATER WHEEL

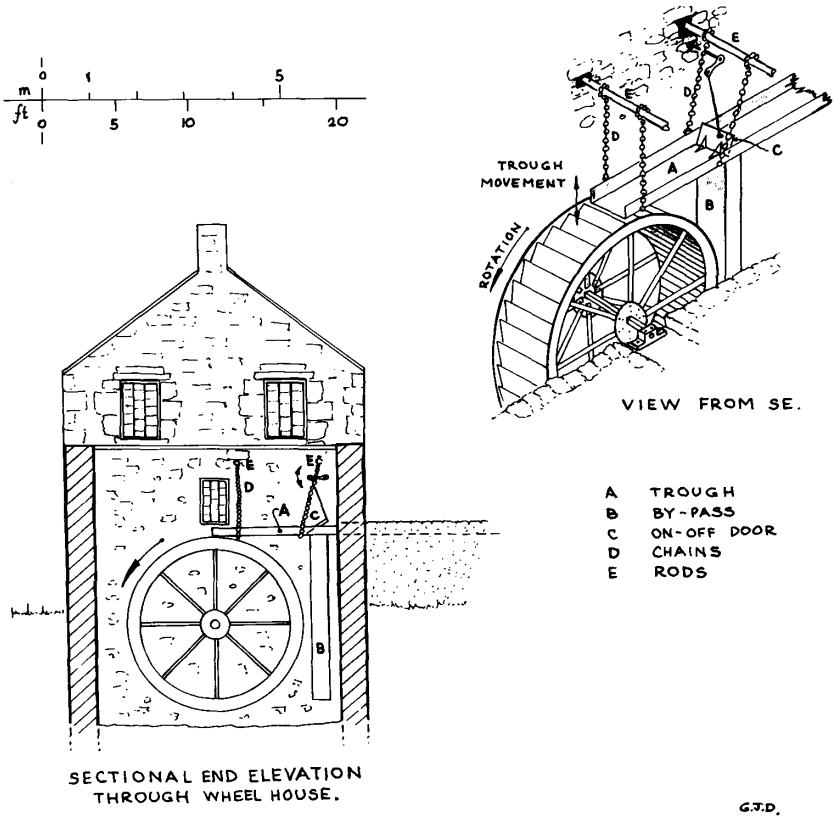

Fig. 6

The Mill

There is little inside the building to show how the mill was organised. The shaft from the waterwheel appears to have been geared up, and it seems likely that a shaft ran the length of Blocks 1 and 3. There may have been bevel gearing to another shaft in Block 2. There were probably shafts on the upper storey as well as the ground.

In many places the joists have been cut, usually round a curve, as though leaving clearance for a shaft or wheel. In some cases the amount of wood removed seems such as to greatly weaken the joist. There are oil-marks in places in the upper floors, indicating the presence of machinery, but no indications of heavy equipment or holding-down gear.

A thing of some interest is the row of shallow wooden boxes set in the inside walls of Block 1, adjacent to the windows. About half a metre square and 25cm deep they are lined with wood. They may be boxes for bobbins or shuttles, which would be a reasonable use. They might have been for another purpose, such as holding lamps. Block 3 has none of these boxes.

Outbuildings

Figure 3 shows two groups of buildings which seem to have little direct connection with the mill. Detailed drawings are in the Royal Commission files, but their purposes are not very clear. The long buildings towards the South-West could have been dwelling houses, later used as stable and smithy. The building on the South-East corner looks like a store.

Conclusion

Although this study has not revealed much about the mill, it has unearthed some information where previously nothing has been on record. It would be nice if the wheel could be restored and preserved before it is too late.

Acknowledgements

All the measurements and drawings for this paper were done by Mr Graham Douglas of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, to whom the author is most grateful.

A CROP MARK AT WEST LOGAN, KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE

by

Jane Page

The exceptionally dry conditions of June and July 1989, causing extensive crop stress, made the summer particularly favourable for recording both new and previously identified crop mark sites.

Towards the end of July, Mr J. Eden of Buittle Bridge reported observing crop marks in a field at West Logan, Buittle Parish, Kirkcudbrightshire, NGR NX 805 632. The opportunity was taken to carry out a measured ground survey and to experiment with using a camera mounted on an extending surveying staff as a means of gaining height to photograph the features.[1]

The marks were detectable as either light green against mid green, or dark green against mid green. Discussion with the farmer, Mr Hyslop, brought forward an explanation for this variation. The crop had been intended for silage, however the severity of the drought had persuaded Mr Hyslop to abandon this aim and instead to use the available pasture for grazing, thus stock had recently been introduced into the field. The animals had first been attracted to the lusher, less parched grass and had partially grazed this back to the light green lower stems. Thus the crop marks were in places 'reversed', the light green as well as dark green areas indicating greater soil depth.

The site at West Logan was first recorded by Dr J. K. St. Joseph in 1949. The four features A-D, see plan (Fig. 1), are apparent on his air photograph (DV 75). The site has not been re-photographed since, but in 1969 the Ordnance Survey archaeological field investigator detected the 'slight remains of a circular grass covered earthen bank, 40m in diameter', at A. In 1989 there was no trace of this earthen bank, but a further crop mark feature, E on the plan, was visible.

The site occupies a low rounded knoll, approximately 65m above sea level, with the ground sloping away on all sides. It is overlooked from the south east by higher ground. To the north west the landscape is of more open low rolling hills.

The measured dimensions of the visible features are given below. These should be seen as approximate rather than precise as edges were blurred:

A Circular feature. Overall diameter 34.5m. Overall diameter of inner circle 16.0m. Outer ditch 3.5m wide. Inner ditch 2.0m wide.

B 'C' shaped enclosure, open on east side. Overall diameter 17.0m. Ditch 2.0m wide.

C Linear feature, aligned approximately E/W, adjacent to B. 22.0m long by 2.0m wide.

D 'C' shaped enclosure, open on south side. 16.0m E/W, 11.0m N/S. Ditch 2.0m wide. Situated on sloping ground.

E Circular enclosure. 12.0m overall diameter. Ditch 3.0m wide. Situated on sloping ground.

The results of the photographic survey proved the technique to be physically possible for two people to conduct. However, the height gained was insufficient to produce clear definition on film. Unfortunately the weather broke before the aerial survey team of the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland had an opportunity to record the site.

The observable characteristics suggest the West Logan features may be the remains of a Bronze Age burial complex, comprising a barrow and associated enclosures. Further analysis of the date and function of this important site must await careful scientific excavation.

Many thanks are due to Mr Hyslop, Mr Eden, Ms Milne, Mr Penman and Mr Truckell for assistance.

1. Wolliscroft, D., 1989 *British Archaeology* May/June, p 18-21.

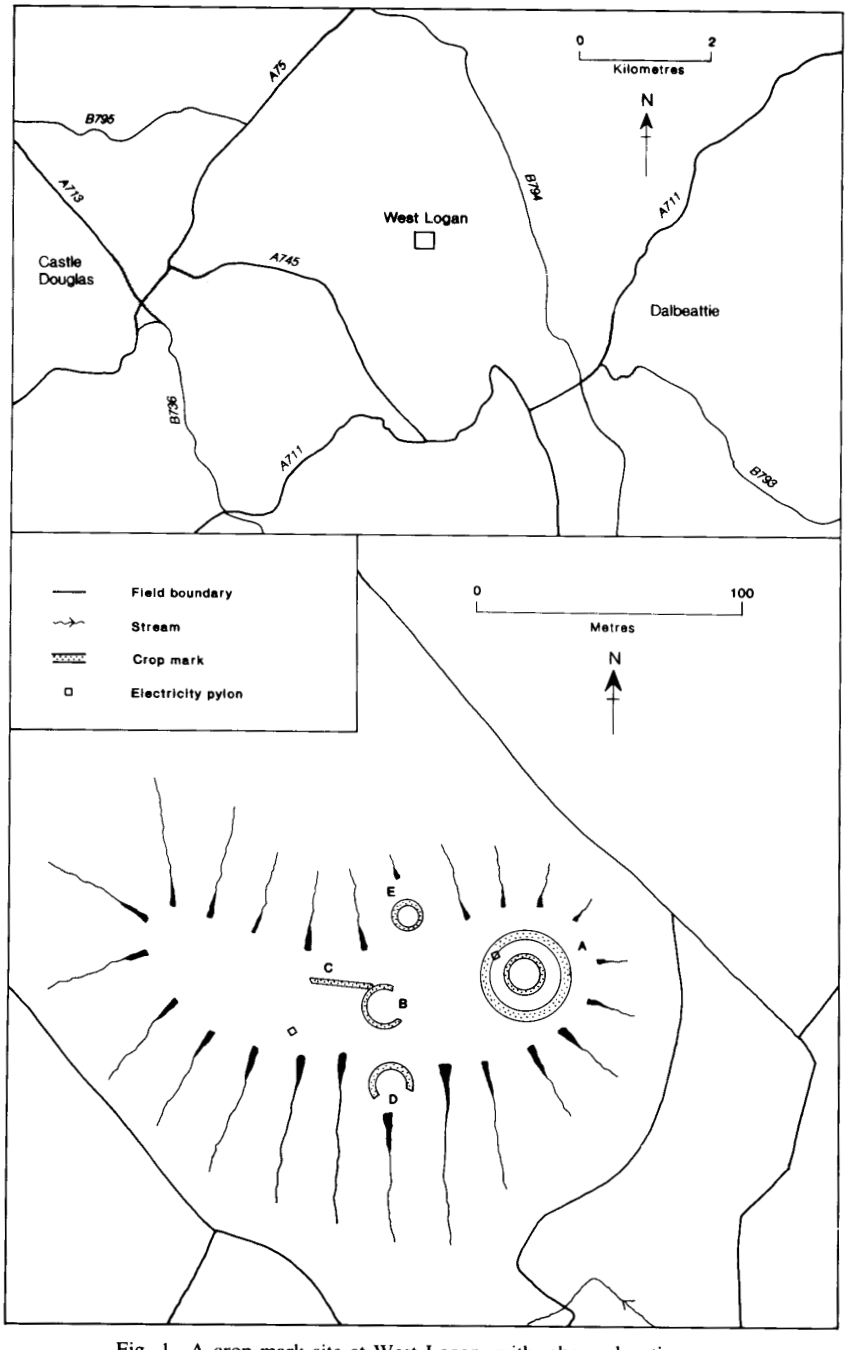

Fig. 1 A crop mark site at West Logan, with, above, location map.

THE McCARTNEY DOCUMENTS

by

A. E. Truckell

Late in November 1988, Miss Marion Stewart, Nithsdale District Archivist, was advised by a friend in the National Register of Archives (Scotland) of an item which might interest Nithsdale Archives in Phillips, London, auction to be held on 8th December. The catalogue entry, when obtained, read: "Scottish Recusancy — Sweetheart Abbey. Three Charters, all dated August 1566, one bearing a fragment of a seal, each signed by Gilbert Browne (d.1612) as Abbot of Sweetheart Abbey - - -" "together with later sasines etc. relating to the property and a large collection of papers relating to the early 19th-century trust of Dr. John McCartney of Liverpool, several hundred items in all, in a deed box — £350-£400". Mr David Lockwood, Curator of Dumfries Museums — of which the Archive Centre is a department — and Miss Stewart had therefore five days to raise money. They decided to bid £420, and arranged for Bernard Quaritch to bid on behalf of Dumfries, the Local Museum Purchase Fund having agreed to pay half the fee. In the event the hammer price was £320 — Dumfries was one of the very few archive centres to put in a successful bid as most of the collections that day went far beyond the sums available to the other record offices.

When the deed box arrived Miss Stewart telephoned the writer to say that it had proved to be something of a gold-mine — four 16th-century Newabbey titles plus a wealth of 17th- early 18th-century material relating to both Newabbey and Halketleaths in Buittle parish, and only a handful of 19th-century documents relating to the Dr. John Allen McCartney of Halketleaths who died at Liverpool on 28th July 1829.

Of the four 16th-century documents three are subscribed by Abbot Gilbert Broun who describes himself as "be the permissioun of god abbot of the abbay of Sueithart" and the tack and charters as "with the consent and assent of our conuent of the samyn thairto". The first, a vernacular tack to James Broun "our belovit servant and friend", for "certane sowme of mony" - - - "to the reparatioune and vphalding of our said abbay and for seruice done and to be dwne be the said James", sets and for maill (rent) lets, a portion of the ground of the Abbey green 45 feet long and 20 broad with the yard extending to the dyke of the markland that runs from the abbey wall to Jonet Sanderson's yard dyke on the north part between the house of Thomas Makki.nay on the east part and "our said land of the abbey green" on the south and west parts, "to gidder with ane pece of land coadjacent to the north Vest gaill (gable) of the hous that is bigget apon the foirsaid portioun of land to big (build) ane uthir litill hous thairupon extendand to tuenty foure fwwtis of lenthe and fifetene fwtis of breid" — dated 3rd August 1566.

The second document is a charter to James Brown of lands as above, subscribed by Gilbert and "Johannis Kirkpatrik", 12th August 1566: the third, on the same date, is a charter to James Brown of a second piece of land: and the fourth is a sasine of James Brown in lands as above following on the charter of 12th August 1566 and dated 18th April 1571, these three being in Latin.

The writer has quoted the first document at some length because it sets the scene for those which follow through the 17th century and give so much detail of the location of the properties and their owners or occupiers that a sketch plan could be drawn (as Shirley did for Dumfries from the 16th century Burgh Court Books).

There are eighteen 17th-century documents running from 1608 to 1692 relating to the same properties in Newabbey. They are sasines, a testament, dispositions, a liberty to build a house, warnings of removal, an assignation, a precept of clare constant, a receipt for feu duty, and a bond of caution. They tell us of the Abbey Wall, Abbey Green, Arbour Stank, and Abbey Pow, and of gardens, yards, and the "ways" between properties. As for families, we have the Stewarts of Shambellie, Allance and Barnsoul always in the background in the "Clachan", as it is usually termed, Master Richard Broun, Herbert Shitlington, John Broun of Landis, Walter Makcaithe, Thomas Broun of Glen, Alexander Newall and his son William Newall in Tounheid (several generations later Walter Newall of this family became a notable architect,[1] designing many Dumfries houses and modifying the old windmill on Corbelly Hill as an observatory). William Turner, called "Golden Willie" (why?) appears, as does the magnificently named Quintigernus Graissie,[2] Charles Broun son of William Broun of Clachan

1. See article by Aonghus MacKechnie in Vol. 63 of these *Transactions* p. 78.
2. "Mungo" is often latinised as "Kentigernus" in legal documents.

of Newabbey, John and Adam Grinlay: Herbert Broun, fiar of Clachan, his mother Katherine Stewart widow of Mr. Charles Broun, William Caird of Clauchan, Gilbert Broun de Corbellie (the Newabbey Parish Corbelly, not the Dumfries one), the McCairnick, McCarmick, Carnick, Cairnik etc. family (their surname was unusually variable, even for the period), Walter McCraik, Robert Gibson, Walter McCraith — probably the same as McCraik — and Archibald Browne of Craigend.

John Stewart of Allance's son Archibald married Elizabeth Irving daughter of ex-provost Francis Irving of Dumfries and his wife Agnes Rayning. Cuthbert Cunningham Town Clerk of Dumfries appears frequently. Elizabeth's tocher was to be employed partly for purchase of land as security and Barnsoul in Irongray seems to have been the land bought. Archibald died in 1647-48 (his moving Testament, of 1647, composed on his deathbed, makes careful arrangements for his five sons and daughter Katherine. He specified that young Katherine, still young enough to require her mother as tutrix, be his executrix, showing his regard for the girl's ability and education). As the marriage settlement dates to 1631 he was evidently dying young! Elizabeth long survived him and we find her in 1677 assigning many of her rights under the marriage contract to her son Archibald, merchant in Dumfries (properties in Dumfries had been part of the contract), and to others of her children, apparently because her son Francis, of Barnsoul, had been remiss in his liferent payments. From 1680 Francis is warning tenants of the Newabbey properties to remove — and is still doing so in 1692, twelve years later. Cautioner in one of these documents is Paterson of Kinhervie, brother or half-brother of Paterson of the Bank of England who came to Kinhervie in his old age and is buried in Newabbey Churchyard, having spent his last days with his brother.

So much for Newabbey. Now we move to the twelve documents relating to Halketleaths in Buittle parish about a mile from Moat of Urr. These run from 1631 to 1674, plus a memorandum on points of law relating to the estate prepared for Charles McCartney of Halketheaths in 1703 and two lists giving in some detail other documents relating to the lands running fom 1620 to 1731, prepared in that year: and we encounter a different group of personal and place names: Edward Maxwell of Logan, David Canane of Fell, Marie Edgar his spouse, Thomas Edgar, writer in Edinburgh, Powl (Paul) Rudek, George Riddick, John Newall, Alexander Cannan: James Canan: Robert Muir (all 1631): George Maxwell son of the late Alexander Maxwell of Logan (1634): the twa merkland of Auld Cokleys called Halkitleaths: John Neilsoune tenant there (1634): a sasine in favour of Herbert Irving merchant burgess of Dumfries, of Auld Cokleys "commounlie callit Hakitleyis" upon a Disposition and Alienation to him by George Maxwell (1634): a disposition by William Broun in Mollaunce wadsetter of the lands of Halkitleiths with consent of Herbert Irving of Logan to John McCairtney of Culmen (Culmain) — signed at Carlingwark (Castle-Douglas): the witnesses John Broun of Mollaunce, William Gordon of Airds, John Affleck in Midtoun, Robert Affleck in Milrigfar, and Robert Irving. In 1655 Robert Herroun of Kirkland of Kelton appears. In the same year there is an Instrument of Sasine instructing John McCairtney of Leaths bailie to Herbert Irving of Logane to give sasine to John McCairtney portioner of Leaths, of the lands of Hakit and Braidleaths in favour of the said John McCairtney, Catherine Broun his spouse, and Gilbert McCairtney their son: witnessed by William Broune in Mollance, John Affleck in Midtoune, James McCairtney in Leaths, William Neilsone in Kilhill, Robert Affleck of Culmen, and Gilbert Gordoun in Corbatoune, registered in Dumfries. A disposition in 1663 to Gilbert Makcairtney of Hacklethes of lands in Halkitlethes and Kirkland of Keltoun is witnessed by John Maxwell of Mylntoun and Thomas Gledstainis. A deed of procuratory by Gilbert McCornok in Cornavell and Margaret Cannan his spouse and apparent heir to David Cannan of Braidleys (she is described as "agnet" — agnate i.e. related through her father) in favour of Gilbert McCartney of Halketleaths to purchase brieves for the infeftment of the said Margaret as heir to her father is dated 1674 and witnessed by John Gerrand, officer, John McGill, merchant, Thomas Herroune, notary, William McCornok son of the said Gilbert and Margaret Cannan.

Letters of Prohibition against Edward Maxwell of Logan at the instance of David Cannan of Fell and Marie Edgar his spouse, 1633, use the picturesque terms normal to such documents: the letters are proclaimed at the Croce of Kirkcudbright - - - McIlraithe messinger "and that be oppin proclamatioun eftir three seuerall oyess and publict Reiding of the said letters and left ane autentik copie hierof upone the said Mercat Croce — this I did befoir thir witnes James Glendonyng sone lawfull to Mr. Robert Glendonyng minister at Kirkcudbright Alexr lennox merchand burges of Kirkcudbright & James Coutart Srvitor to the said dauid Allan — William McIlraithe messinger apud Arkland 17th December 1633". The second sheet, in a different hand, is dated 19th November 1633: Andro McKill messenger "past to Edward Maxwell of Loganes duelling place of Logane and thair

serchit and socht the said Edward Maxwell of Logane and Becaus I could not aprehend him personallie efter I had knokit sex severall knoks vpon his Maist patent hall dwr In Logane & affixit ane coppie of the within letteris vpon his said hall dwr - - -'' One notices, over the years, how rarely lairds seem to have been in residence when prohibitions, inhibitions and letters of horning were served.

The 1703 legal advice mentions the Earl of Nithsdale, and the lists of 1731-2 name more places — Castlegour, Moat of Orr and the fishing thereof, and Miln of Buittle. Sir John Seaton of Barns appears, Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg (in 1624 and 1631 — so *not* Bluidy Lagg), and John Carruthers of Mouswald.

Miss Stewart has summarised the Latin documents (some of them well interlarded with vernacular) and the writer has transcribed all the vernacular documents — including a long and complex one about the turn of the 17th-18th century, lacking its beginning and referring back all the way to dates, people and places mentioned in the missing section — this is not included in the twelve mentioned above. There are also a few very fragmentary and illegible papers. It is hoped that the later papers in the collection will be ready for consultation shortly.

In compiling the above admittedly incomplete paper I have made heavy use of Miss Stewart's excellent and clear summary lists plus a certain amount of detail from my transcripts — I could not have written these notes at all without her spadework!

The documents and transcripts are of course available to researchers in the Archive Rooms in Burns Street.

THE DINWIDDIE COLLECTION IN UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

by Gloria Troyer

Dr. James Dinwiddie, originally Dinwoody (1746-1815) was born at Kirkland, parish of Tinwald, Dumfriesshire, Scotland. He attended the Dumfries Academy before entering the University of Edinburgh where he received his M.A. in 1778. After his graduation he began public lecture tours demonstrating scientific experiments. He especially liked to demonstrate items that caught the audiences' imagination, i.e. fireworks and hot air balloons which he constructed. In 1792 after receiving a Doctor of Law degree from the University of Edinburgh, he was asked to accompany Lord Macartney's embassy to China. He was engaged as a machinist defining his duties as: "The erecting and regulating the planetarium; the constructing, filling, and ascending in the balloon; descending in the diving bell; together with experiments on air, electricity, mechanics, and other branches of experimental philosophy; astronomical and other calculations".[1]

The voyage took one year with the British arriving in Peking August 21, 1793. After several weeks of trying to communicate with the Chinese government it became apparent that the Chinese were not interested in Macartney or the expedition. The embassy cost £80,000 and failed in its principal aim which was to establish commercial relations on the east coast of China. Needless to say Dinwiddie's experiments had to wait until he got to India. Fortunately Dinwiddie kept a journal while travelling in China. Throughout the diary he stressed the need to be able to converse in Chinese:

> "To travel through a fine country — to see pagodas, canals, and manufacturing towns without being able to ask a single question is extremely mortifying. To be conducted to the bottom of the Lin-ho by a Colao of the Empire — to receive a present from the Emperor at parting, and the Colao's farewell speech without knowing a word he said, and consequently to fall into numberless blunders in our attempts to reply — what information could we derive respecting the arts and sciences in a country where we could not converse with the inhabitants? With what countenance will Lord Macartney return to Europe after his shameful treatment? No apology will satisfy. We go home — are asked what we have done. Our answer — we could not speak to the people".[2]

In 1794 the embassy boarded the 'Jackall' and set sail for India. Dinwiddie took his scientific equipment with him along with tea, tallow, varnish plants, and silkworm eggs. These were delivered to Dr. Roxburgh the Superintendent of the Company's Botanical Garden in Calcutta. In September 1794 shortly after his arrival in Calcutta, Dinwiddie began to give public lectures concerning natural philosophy, chemistry, and talks concerning his experiences in China. He privately tutored those interested in science and art. In 1800 Dinwiddie was hired as a Professor at Fort William College, Calcutta, he was appointed to the East India Company and also elected as a member of the Asiatic Society.

In 1792 when Dinwiddie left Britain he was over £500 in debt, but when he left India to return to Britain he took with him over £10,000.

The Dinwiddie Collection, Archival and Special Collections, University of Guelph Library, includes eighty-eight letters which were sent to Dr. James Dinwiddie between 1778-1814. This collection of stampless folded letters contains several examples representing different aspects of the postal system of the day. The packets include Scottish mileage marks, Dublin handstamps, Two Penny Post Paid, Bishop Mark, etc.

The Dinwiddie Collection was donated to the library by Philip Melanson of Sackville, Nova Scotia in May 1989. It nicely complements our growing Scottish Collection.[3]

1. G. M. Macartney. *An Embassy to China*, ed. J. L. Cranmer-Byng. (Toronto: Longmans, 1962), 310.
2. Macartney, 347.
3. Other sources consulted have been Dodds, James. *Eminent Men of Dumfriesshire*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Maclaren & Macniven, 1873, and Northrop, Henry Davenport. *The Flowery Kingdom and the Land of the Mikado*. London, Ont.: McDermid & Logan, 1894.

HOW SIR PATRICK MAXWELL OF SPRINGKELL WORSTED THE DEVIL

by

W. F. Cormack

When researching the history of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish, Duncan Adamson examined a bundle of letters in the National Library of Scotland.[1] The letters from Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell[2] are introduced by the following Note in small neat handwriting which is probably that of C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe of Hoddam[3] the well known antiquary whose name appears in association with the collection.

> The following letters were written by Sir Patrick Maxwell, first baronet of Springkell, who, like Lag, was a persecuter, and like him accused of dealing with the foul fiend — it is said that when his wife lay in [with] her first child, a son, Sir Patrick carried the infant from the bed chamber to the landing place of the stairs and there gave it to the devil — of course the poor victim was never seen any more.
>
> But on another occasion he contrived to overreach the devil — a dairy maid in the house of Springkell had a sweetheart, who used to meet her of an evening on the back stairs — on one of these assignations, it was settled between the lovers, that the woman was to go that night to the kirk yard of Kirkconnel (where fair Helen lies buried), and there consent to her swain's wishes, whatever they might prove — the youth had scarcely retired when the dairy maid met Sir Patrick, who asked if she knew with whom she had been conversing — she answered with the gardener — he told her, with the devil — who would certainly carry her off that very night, if she ventured alone to the kirk yard — the finale of this conference was that Sir Patrick promised her his protection — and at the appropriate hour, he with a lantern and followed by the trembling dairy maid and a dog, set off for the place of meeting, — which they had scarcely arrived till the devil comes over the dyke and demands his pay; when Sir Patrick according to the usual tacticks on such occasions had hastily fortified within a circle on the ground etc. etc. — a parley between satan and Sir Patrick ensued — and it was at last concluded that the devil should not lay a claw on the poor dairy maid till the candle in the lantern burnt out — on which Sir Patrick thrust it down the dog's throat; and the fiend went off in a (fret)? at the trick. I think I have read this story in some book older than Sir Patrick's time and to do him, the young dairy maid and even the devil (who makes so silly a figure in the affair) justice, the woman who resided afterwards in the village of Ecclefechan, assured Betty Paterson, from whom I had several of the circumstances, that the whole was as great a lie as ever was told. Sir Patrick's portrait, a head in an oval, is at Springkell — armour — a large black wig and a face that have very strongly the air of a wizard.

Kirkpatrick Sharpe was probably right in thinking that he had read this story before for it appears in various forms and versions occurring from Aberdeen to Devon, if not abroad.[4] By way of contrast to the Kirkpatrick Fleming tale we have the following variation collected by the Rev. S. Baring Gould "verbatim from an old woman in the parish of Luffincott in North Devon"[5]

> There was an old woman lived in Bridgerule parish, and she had a very handsome daughter. One evening a carriage and four drove to the door, and a gentleman stepped out. He was a fine-looking man, and he made some excuse to stay in the cottage talking, and he made love to the maiden, and she was rather taken with him. Then he drove away, but next evening he came again, and it was just the same thing; and he axed the maid if on the third night she would go in the coach with him, and be married. She said Yes; and he made her swear that she would.

1. Nat. Library of Scotland MS 211 "Letters of Lag, Sharpe and Maxwell 1678-1713" Nos. 41-44. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees.
2. The chronology of his early life is unknown but he became a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1683 and appears as a member of the Privy Council around that time. He was alive in the 1710s (*Middlebie Presbytery Records*) but seems to have died in 1720 (D.A.).
3. 1781-1851. The Note appears as a footnote, but without comment or discussion, on page 6 of the Memoir which introduces Alexander Allardyce's *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe Esq.*, 1888.
4. See K. M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk Tales* 1971 Vol. 1 p.53. She reports that a similar story is told in Thomas Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* 1635, which may be where Kirkpatrick Sharpe read it.
5. S. Baring Gould, *A Book of Folk-Lore* n.d. (c. 1910) p.138.

Well, the old mother did not think that all was quite right, so she went to the pars'n of Bridgerule and axed he about it. "My dear", said he, "I reckon it's the Old Un. Now, look y' here. Take this 'ere candle, and ax that gen'leman next time he comes to let your Polly alone till this 'ere candle be burnt out. Then take it, blow it out, and rin along on all your legs to me."

So the old woman took the candle.

Next night the gen'leman came in his carriage and four, and he went into the cottage and axed the maid to come wi' he, as she'd sworn and promised. She said, "I will, but you must give me a bit o' time to dress myself." He said, "I'll give you till thickey candle be burnt out."

Now, when he had said this, the old woman blew the candle out and rinned away as fast as she could, right on end to Bridgerule, and the pars'n he tooked the can'l and walled it up in the side o' the church; you can see where it be to this day (it is the rood loft staircase upper door, now walled up). Well, when the gen'leman saw he was done, he got into his carriage and drove away, and he drove till he comed to Affaland Moor, and then all to wance down went the carriage and horses and all into a sort o' bog there, and blue flames came up all round where they went down.

In her monumental work quoted, Katharine Briggs shows that this group of folk tales contains various combinations and permutations of the folk-tale Type 1187, motifs K551.9 (let me live as long as this candle lasts), E765.1.1 (life bound up with candle) and G303.12.5.4 (devil woos woman).[6] As well as quoting the North Devon example, which she calls "The Candle", she records an example from Cleethorpes in Lincolnshire entitled "Betty's Candle". In this the minister carries the candle to the church and locks it in a safe — "it is still there".

In 1926 she collected a Scottish version in Perthshire — "The Devil at Little Dunkeld Manse". Here the lady promises "when the candle burns out I'll marry you but not a moment before" whereupon the gallant minister himself swallows the candle, to the relief no doubt of the animal lovers among our members. She also mentions the existence of a Welsh version.

One would expect that in these present sophisticated and degenerate days at the close of the 20th Century such tales would be no longer current, but as recently as 1979 the School of Scottish Studies collected in Aberdeenshire "Tam of Pitsligo"[7] a version whereby Tam had sold himself to the Devil, who would redeem the pledge if and when Tam allowed a candle to burn out — he managed and prospered for several years until one night after a heavy day's work he dozed off by the fire with the candle burning at his side . . . (for the denouement see the work quoted).

As can be seen, our version as usual is localised, and differs in detail from the other accounts. Often the devil is recognised by having cloven hooves and goes off in a blue flash or puff of smoke. The "circle on the ground" motif introduced in our example, but which does not occur in the other quoted tales, is a very old practice indeed.[8] We must be grateful to Betty Paterson, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Duncan Adamson and finally the magic wand of Ann Hill for bringing this local version more fully into the light of day.

6. Folk-Tales are analysed and classified in Aarne & Thompson, *Types of the Folktale* 1961 and in Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature* 1966.
7. School of Scottish Studies Ref. SA 1979/A3. Recorded from Stanley Robertson, Aberdeen on 16th Feby. 1979 and printed in *Tocher* Vol. 31 p.51.
8. Ailred's *Life of St. Ninian* (12th century) describes the drawing by the latter of a protective circle round the herd of cattle belonging to Whithorn, a device which is implied in the (8th Century) *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*, ed. Winifred McQueen, these *Transactions* Vol. 38 p.42.

FERGUS GRAHAM OF MOSSKNOW AND THE MURDER AT KIRKPATRICK

by

W. F. Cormack

The discovery in 1960 of two stone crosses built into the walls of an outhouse and garden of Kirkpatrick House resulted in an article by the late Dr. R. C. Reid and this writer in which a stump of a possible mediaeval cross before the steading was discussed.[1] According to Mr James Rae of Newton and Kirkpatrick the tradition was that it had been erected or re-erected in its position to commemorate the spot where a John Scott who resided at Kirkpatrick was slain by Fergus Graham of Mossknow in 1730.[2] A dispute had arisen, it is believed over a lady — one account is that it started in an inn which lay between Kirkpatrick House and the Kirk; Scott was armed with a flail and acting to some extent in self defence, Graham ran him through with his sword, and had to flee the country. Dr. Reid added the further tradition that after the slaughter Fergus was vainly pursued along the road to Langholm.

The incident is also commemorated by a tombstone, probably erected some time after the incident, in the Kirkyard which reads as follows:

> "Here lyes the body of John Scot who was murthered by the hand of Fergus Graham of Mossknow upon the 21st day of November 1730 of age 51. Also William Scott who died at Kirkpatrick 20th January 1800 aged 80 years and Mary Rodick his spouse who died 7th March 1825 aged 98. Also Barbara Scott their daughter who died 14th August 1849 aged 78 years."

Notwithstanding an extensive search in the Justiciary Records and elsewhere Dr. Reid was unable to trace any official cognizance of this alleged offence. However in his researches into the history of the Parish, Duncan Adamson has traced not only a Petition by the deceased's widow in the Scottish Record Office (JC 26 120) but the following letters among the Forbes of Culloden Papers in the National Library of Scotland.[3] I am grateful to Mr Adamson and the Hill committee for having invited me to comment on the letters and their background and to the Trustees of the National Library for authority to publish them.

The Petition was by Jean Cowan, relict of John Scott late in the Parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming. She narrated that her husband was killed without provocation by one Fergus Grahame, son to William Grahame of Mossknow. She applied to Mr John Forbes of Newhall, then depute Advocate, who ordered her to have a precognition made before the Justices for Dumfriesshire, which was done before Mr John Henderson and Mr William Johnston of Granton. The depositions were then in the Lord Advocate's custody.

The Petitioner averred that Fergus Grahame still resided in the country "and daily appears in Arms threatening the Lives of all who belong to my late husband or me as also of the Witnesses who deponed before the Justices, and as he is at present a terror to the neighbourhood, and I and my family in danger of our lives", she craved warrant for his apprehension and punishment. The Petition was signed by the Petitioner herself (in a well-formed educated signature, surprising in a farmer's wife and perhaps indicative of a gentle background — D.A.) and was undated but was endorsed 1st January 1732 where it was stated that a warrant had been granted.

The Petition is of course an *ex parte* statement, giving one side of the story, and the following two letters perhaps redress Fergus' case somewhat:-

Forbes of Culloden Papers

(No date on the originals. 1725 to 1737 has been added later on the back of a group of letters of which this is one.)

1. Reid, R. C. and Cormack, W. F. "Two Mediaeval Crosses at Kirkpatrick-Fleming" *Trans. Dumf. & Gall. Nat. Hist. and Antiqu. Society* Vol. 37 p.114.
2. John Scott may have been one of the Beltenmont family the head of whom, William, was one of the heritors involved in the alterations to the Kirk in 1726; see Adamson, Duncan "Kirkpatrick-Fleming and Records of Middlebie Presbytery 1699-1743", *Trans. Dumf. & Gall. Nat. Hist. and Antiqu. Society* Vol 63, p.48.
3. Ref. 2970 (ff 211-213).

"Kensington.

. . . . . I had a solicitation from (Scotland) in favour of one Fergus Graham, son to Graham of M ssknow, who had the misfortune to kill one of his father's Tenants in some quarrell, 'tis a good many months ago and the relations of one Scot who was kill'd being passive in it did not (?pursue) a (two words illegible) but ye Justice (s?) of ye country now taking notice of it and ye solicitor who' I am not at all acquainted with, they have not apprehended Graham, and he, I believe has made his escape to Holland, but is (soliclouse) to get his pardon that he may return to assist his father and mother who are both old people miserable for the impending fate of there son, the case I have seen and think hard and I spoke to Sir Robert Walpole and Ld Illa (Lord Ilay — brother to the Duke of Argyll, and Walpole's chief Scottish Lieutenant) and have both there promesses to do all in there power for him, that he'l (sic) be condemned in Scotland I am persuaded, but all I desire is that Mr Forbuse in his report of it, state it as favourable as posible so as it may be brought in man slaughter in England there is a pitition given in by Sir Robert to ye Queen in his favours and there (wants) nothing now to save him but this request wch shall account a very great favour from (your?) yr advocate, and I hope you'l imedietly (?visit) and plead my case to him and let me have yr ansuer from Mr Forbuse must be so indulgent as to use what means is necessary with yr soliciter since what that is I do not know, but Ld Isla told me they must both be concerned in it. I will plead some little? interest for old aquaintance sake wt yr frend, and I hope you cannot reffuse me yr indeavours to strengthen my application, you'l hardly read this scrawle but I am called to my mistresses and I could not dellay this any Longer since I am allways impatient in deeds of compassion, now John do not be indolent, consider 'tis life and Death and remember (?illegible word) will give infinit pleasure to yr Humble sevt." (The signature — initials only — does not look like 'S.H.', but presumably must be — see next letter.)

(Draft letter by Archibald Stewart.)

"The enclosed from Lady Susan Hamilton to Johnnie Aikman was sent by him to me last post, her letter is prettie full and distinct, — this morning I inquired at ye Justiciarie office, and they tell me there was a short precognition of the case taken on the part only of the friends of the defunct which was heard before your Lordship and I am assured by the Ders (? defenders) for Grahame of Mosknow that if needfull a second precognition will put his case in a more favorable light it seems the Cases is already or very son will be remitted to your Lordship and the Sollicitor and if there's any handle for mercy it will much rejoice the heart of that compassionat Lady if your Lordship either wants the first precognition or thinks there will be use for a Second I beg the favour you'l let me know it and Pardon this favor to so Generous a Lady's letter I am with all respect, My Lord, Your Lordships most obedient and most humble servant."[4]

These new documents not only confirm the manslaughter, if not its exact date, but perhaps imply that the failure to prosecute was due to influence in high places combined with a reluctance of the deceased's relatives to press the case. Certainly in later years there seems to have been little enmity between the families, and it must be assumed that the tombstone inscription was cut early in the 19th Century by a Scott who was not fully aware of the seemingly mitigating factors in the case.

4. The Transcriptions and comments in brackets on these are by Mr Adamson. It has not been possible definitely to identify the parties to these letters. The most likely candidate for the petitioner Lady Susan Hamilton was the fourth daughter of the 4th Duke of Hamilton — she married Anthony Tracy-Keck in 1736 and died in 1755 leaving issue. About the time of the murder her brother James was gentleman of the bedchamber to the King so her 'mistress' could have been the Queen (Caroline) herself. Johnnie Aikman may well have been of the family of William Aikman, the Artist (1682-1731) who was not only known to the Hamiltons, but one of his daughters married into the Forbes family and another; William Carruthers of Dormont. In 1752 however there was a John Aikman, writer in Dumfries. See *Scottish Masters No. 9*, National Gallery of Scotland, *Dictionary of National Biography* 1885 Vol. I p.187 and *Burke's Landed Gentry*. Also *Dumfries* and *Edinburgh Testaments*. It is not clear who the Archibald Stewart was. Duncan Forbes (of Culloden) was of course the Lord Advocate, responsible for criminal prosecutions. I am much indebted to James Williams and Marion Stewart for their help over these parties.

Duncan Adamson also unearthed many details of the long and complicated foreclosure procedure by creditors on Mossknow estate but this note is limited to Fergus Graham as a person.[5] It relies heavily on Dr. Reid's and Mr Adamson's researches but the results are brought together here to give as detailed a *curriculum vitae* as possible.

The alleged murder was not Fergus' first scrape with authority and as will be seen, was very far from being his last.

His grandfather William Graham had become the Parish Minister before 1655 and had married Margaret Irving daughter and Heiress of David Irving of Mossknow about 1657. Their eldest son was also a William Graham who as well as becoming laird of Mossknow on the death of his father acted for a while as Collector of H.M. Customs. He married Isabel Herries about 1682. Their first child David seems to have died young. Fergus was their second son, so could not have been born before 1685. Indeed since there were at least two daughters, any or all of whom could have been born before him, and if he in fact died in Jamaica in 1769 (see below), he is most likely to have been born in the 1690s.

He first appears on record, in the Presbytery Minutes on 2nd March 1715, for alleged fornication with Janet Irving. When this case was considered again on 12th October of that year he was described as "out of the Kingdom". He was in fact in rebellion, for he appears (as Fergus Graham son of Mossknow) among "the most considerable and English noblemen and Gentlemen . . . taken at Preston 15th November 1715". Also taken was a David Graham (undescribed) who Dr. Reid suggested might have been a brother, but it is now suggested that he may have been Fergus' uncle. It is not clear how Fergus extricated himself from this scrape, but if heavy fines were paid then this would be an added millstone round the neck of his father William already in severe financial difficulties over his assumption of the Collectorship of Customs at Alisonbank in 1702.[6]

At any rate Fergus was back in the Kingdom in August 1718 when he had a brush with the church officer.[7] On 31st November 1720 he appeared before the Presbytery and "confessed to a relapse in fornication". His case was continued but by Nov. 1721 he had not reappeared.

A gap of several years in the Presbytery Minutes (and total absence of the Parish Records) spares us from his activities for some time but on 12th January 1726 he was referred to the Presbytery for fornication with Mary Irving. This affair lingered on until 1732 or 34 when Mary at least appears to have been excommunicated, and by which time she admits to have had four children by him.[8]

Although "Fergus Graham" drops from the Presbytery records about this time a "Mr. Graham" with a Mossknow connection appears in lieu, so there appears little doubt[9] that it is our old friend now in his later years, continuing along the same sorry path — the ladies mentioned are Janet Fullerton, "with a third child to him", Mary McCubbin, and finally Katherine Douglas (6th August 1740).

So much for Fergus' personal affairs, with of course the manslaughter of John Scott about 1730 for full measure, but meantime his financial affairs continued to deteriorate, dragged down by his father's and his debts. In February 1730 his father endeavoured to transfer the *de facto* ownership of the lands and mains of Mossknow to him by tack together with certain moveable property — a device of doubtful legal effectiveness.[10] Following

5. Mr Adamson's manuscript notes are lodged in the *Ann Hill Archive*.
6. Mr C. Roy Hudleston had suggested to Dr. Reid (see article referred to in footnote 1) that our Fergus might have been identical with a Fergus Grahame a Jacobite exile whose letters appear in Hist.MSS.Comm. Various Collections iv p.138, but Mr Duncan Adamson's researches show clearly that the two Fergus's are different (details and reasons in *Ann Hill Archive*).
7. From now to 6th Aug. 1740 the references are from the *Middlebie Presbytery Minutes*. See article by D. Adamson referred to in footnote 2.
8. Whether Fergus had been lawfully excommunicated became of importance when it came to the election by the heritors of a minister following Mr Gowanlock's death in 1744. If he had been, then he would have no vote. However the matter was never resolved. See article by D. Adamson referred to in footnote 2.
9. Strictly, the prefix "Mr." applies to a university graduate, and there is no suggestion that our Fergus ever was one. However the strict use of the term was probably dying out by the middle of the century (see for example the list of creditors in Jamaica, below), and the change to Mr. for our Fergus probably reflects his change of status on the death of his father.
10. Tack dated 28 Feby. 1730 in *Mossknow Papers* — the moveable property consisted of the utensils and domiciles in and about the house of Mossknow with 5 horses, a mare and 7 cows then pasturing on the lands of Mossknow.

on the father's death in 1733 Fergus renounced his right as heir[11] but this was successfully challenged by the creditors in 1741 who maintained that Fergus had intromitted with his father's estate as heir, so he was charged formally to enter as heir.[12]

In 1742 a factor was appointed by the Court of Session to administer the estate for the creditors. Fergus still seems to have been around the estate for some time staving off the inevitable — but finally in 1762, the rights of the creditors *inter se* having been adjusted by the court, the estate was sold by auction, it being purchased by William Graham, late surgeon in Jamaica, a grandson of the late William Graham, minister of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, and thus a cousin of Fergus, and from whom the present family are descended.

The story in the family was that Fergus emigrated to Jamaica, where he died. This appears to be correct, for among the Mossknow Papers is a series of copies of documents relating to the executry of a "Fergus Graham, Westmoreland, in the Parish of Hanover, (Jamaica)", who died about February 1769,[13] his executor being Dr. William Graham who seemingly should be equated with the purchaser of Mossknow seven years before. In March 1770 the latter was living in Savanna La Mar but he intended to leave Jamaica that summer. A letter of the same year mentions Fergus' sister and her children as his heirs, which perhaps strengthens the identification of the deceased with our Fergus.

Most of the letters deal with the deceased's debts, either rising from loans or household bills. None is dated after August 1768, so this possibly indicates the onset of his final illness. Some brief excerpts from the papers perhaps will suffice — among personal debts were £4. 15/ owed to Old Joan at Haughton Towr Estate, £70 to Mr John Smith, £16. 12/- odd to Mr John Rankin, £11. 15/- to Dr. William Ferguson, £70 to Dr. Wm. Graham. £20 to Mr John Wight, £245. 3/6d. (plus liquidate penalty) to Neil Malcolm, £22.7.2d. to William Graham, Liverpool (outstanding since 1760). Some of these debts are in Jamaican Currency.

The household bills reflect to some extent the way of life in 18th Century Jamaica. To Walter Skelton & Leigh, mostly for groceries, plus a chamber pott, corks, snuffer, 6 Windsor chairs, also for "freight of 8000 shingles"; to Andrew Wood, Lucia, since August 1766, for beef, ham, a black beaver hat and spermaceti candles; to John Bower, for hire of a negro man from 28th July to 19th December 1966 — £3.11.3d.; to Captain George Lawrie for a keg of white biscuit, pair single channelled pumps, 2 doz. Old Malaga wine, pair very neat pumps and a superfine cloth waistcoat; to Wm. Bruce for a portmanteau saddle "marlpillion", striped blankets, lengths of osnaburg and do. thread, a dozen hoes, bright backed bills and silk hose; to James Buchanan for a cotton night gown; to John Turnbull for red "callimonio" and thread; to Archibald Frame's executor for a barrel of herring; to William Cattanach for drawing of a lease and 3 bonds. William Johnstone, Spring Spots (writing much later) is sorry that he cannot give a copy of his account since he "lost several books in the hurricane of October 1780."

All these debts, including that for which details had gone with the wind, were settled by William Graham, the executor.

On 22nd February 1769 Archibald Galbraith, Undertaker, submitted his account for the funeral. Articles supplied were 1 piece "Long", 2 pieces Cambrick, 2 pieces White Ribbon, a set of white coffin furniture compleat, burnished nails, 27 (or 23) men's gloves, 500 brass tacks. For refreshment the mourners resorted of course to the wine of the country — rum — supplied by Captain Miller.

The publication costs of this Miscellany have been met by the Ann Hill Research Fund.

11. 26th November 1734 — *Mossknow Papers.*
12. *Mossknow Papers.* Entering with the Superior would involve him in the payment of feudal casualties.
13. *Mossknow Papers* — SRO ref. GD1/403/81. Abridgement by Duncan Adamson in *Ann Hill Archive*. In one document Fergus is referred to as a "planter".

OBITUARY

Werner Frederic Kissling

Honorary member of the Society (1969), Dr. Kissling died at Mooreheads on February 3rd, 1988, and was interred in St. Michaels Cemetery in Dumfries.

Born in Silesia into a Prussian landed family, he served in the cavalry in the First World War. A military life did not suit him and he joined the Diplomatic Service. He worked as chef de cabinet in the office of the Prime Minister of the Weimar Republic, Gustav Stresemann, where he was involved in the arrest of Adolf Hitler in 1923.

He was working at the German Embassy in London in 1933 when Hitler came to power. Declining a recall to Berlin and almost certain death, he resigned his position, taking a post as an anthropologist — a lifelong interest — at the Museum of Ethnography in Cambridge. His resignation prompted a personal phone call from an indignant Hitler who having failed to achieve his return "where your regiment needs you", accused him of being a traitor to Germany. Dr. Kissling succinctly replied, "I might be a traitor to you, but I am no traitor to Germany".

In mounting fear for his well-being a generous friend lent him an ocean-going yacht, which he sailed alone to Eriskay and South Uist in 1934. Here, he again set about his anthropological studies recording the lives of the crofters and promoting their interests. His efforts in the establishment of their hand-loom tweed weavers' trade-mark is of continuing economic significance today.

On the outbreak of war he was interned briefly on the Isle of Man but was freed, by tribunal, on the recommendation of Norman (later Lord) Birkett. After the war he moved to Melrose, where he continued his passion for recording the rapidly disappearing way of life. In 1968 he chose to live in Dumfries. Working from the cramped lean-to annexe at the Burgh Museum he set about his work, recording fading traditional methods, techniques and skills of our region, from horse mill to haaf net. In an old second-hand van he ranged the countryside, taking notes, his treasured pre-war Leica camera to hand. He considered his research as a race against time, and only gave up when forced by ill-health and crippling arthritis.

A talented photographer, Dr. Kissling's extensive and historic photographic record he donated, part to Dumfries Museum, and part (specifically the magnificent Hebridean series) to the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh, established in 1947, and of which Dr. Kissling enthused.

Dr. Kissling was, in all ways, a gentle man, a man who, despite many hardships, was resolute and welcoming to all of sincerity. Although his inner family circle and estates were lost, and his brother put to death for his part in the 1944 attempted assassination of Hitler, Dr. Kissling appeared not to fret over such misfortunes.

His anthropological interests, and understanding, inherited from his mother, gave him an easy manner with the Maoris of New Zealand, and to the fishing crofters of Eriskay, to Barra, Melrose and finally Dumfries.

Soldier, Diplomat, Scholar, Gentle Man.

Mankind and Dr. Kissling's world is reflected in his photography - a labour of love.

D.L., R.C.

POSTSCRIPT

Members may recall the Annual General Meeting Notice for October 20th, 1989, and the Werner Kissling "Memorial appeal" appended thereto. The appeal proved most successful, and on the 3rd February, 1990 a small group of friends and subscribers met at the cemetery to "unveil" the modest but handsome polished black granite headstone. Suitable tribute was paid to Dr. Kissling's memory and his work.

Members may view the headstone. Entering St. Michael's Cemetery by the Cresswell Hill Gate, some 90 paces forward and 30 to the right, near the boundary wall with St. Joseph's College, can be found a small tribute to a great man.

7th October
Annual General Meeting
Mr A. E. Truckell was re-elected as an Honorary Member
Speaker: Mr J. Campbell — 'A Kashmir Safari'

21st October
Speaker: Mr A. Ward — 'Forestry and the Environment'

4th November
Speaker: Dr C. Martin — 'Underwater Archaeological Research'

18th November
Speaker: Miss M. Stewart — 'The Role of the Archivist'

2nd December
Speaker: Mr A. Ptolemy — 'Restoration of Comlongan Castle'

16th December
Speaker: Mr & Mrs R. Mearns — 'Biographies for Birdwatchers'

13th January
Speaker: Mr R. Crichton — 'Burns in Dumfriesshire'

27th January
Members' Night
Speakers: Mr W. F. Cormack — 'Excavations at Barhobble'
Mr G. McKean — 'Survey of British Breeding Birds'

10th February
Speaker: Mr A. Wilkins — 'Roman Siege Artillery'

24th February
Speaker: Mr R. Mercer — 'Survey of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish'

10th March
Speaker: Mr J. Terry — 'Elginhaugh: A Roman Fort and its Environs'

24th March
Special General Meeting
Speaker: Miss Wilkes — 'Mapping of Galloway'

25th March
This meeting was held in Gatehouse of Fleet
Speaker: Miss Wilkes — 'Mapping of Galloway'

Publications funded by the Ann Hill Research Bequest

The History and Archaeology of Kirkpatrick-Fleming Parish

No. 1 Ann Hill and her family, A Memorial, by D. Adamson
No. 2* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Poorhouse, by D. Adamson
No. 3* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany
Mossknow Game Register 1875
Diary of J. Gordon Graham 1854
edited by D. Adamson and I. S. MacDonald
No. 4* Middlebie Presbytery Records, by D. Adamson
No. 5* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany
How Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell worsted the Devil
Fergus Graham of Mossknow and the Murder at Kirkpatrick
both by W. F. Cormack

This series is crown quarto in size with a 2 colour titled card cover.
Publications marked * are reprinted from the *Transactions*.

The Records of Kirkpatrick-Fleming Parish
(in preparation)
The series will be duplicated in A4 size with a titled card cover.
For prices of both series and current availability of Records apply to the Hon. Secretary.

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History of Dumfries Post Office, by J. M. Corrie, 1912.*

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Publications in print may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries.

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